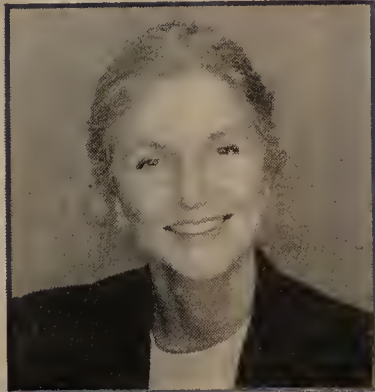


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The
San Francisco
Bay Guardian
THIS ISSUE IN 2 SECTIONS PUBLISHED WEEKLY EVERY WEDNESDAY, VOL. 22, NO. 19, FEBRUARY 24-MARCH 2, 1988. FREE.

PG&E 8, SF 2



THE PG&E EIGHT: With tens of millions of dollars and the city's public power legacy in the balance, eight supervisors voted Feb. 22nd to back PG&E and approve a set of 27½-year power sale contracts. Clockwise from upper left, supervisors John Molinari, Nancy Walker, Tom Hsieh, Bill Maher, Jim Gonzalez, Carol Ruth Silver, Wendy Nelder and Doris Ward

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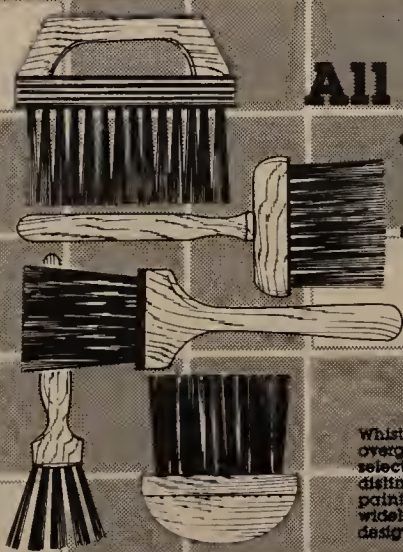
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Supervisor Bill Maher takes a hard look at the PG&E contracts during the Feb. 22nd board meeting. See page 7.

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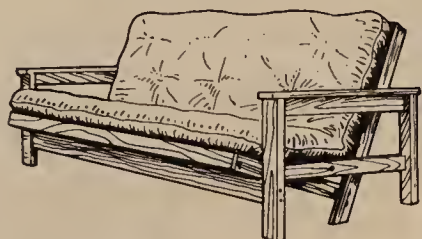
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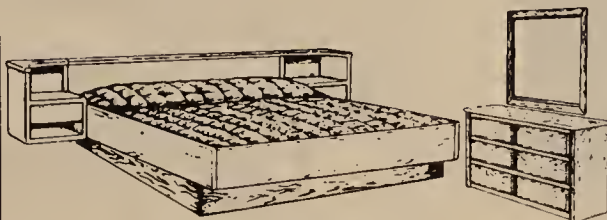
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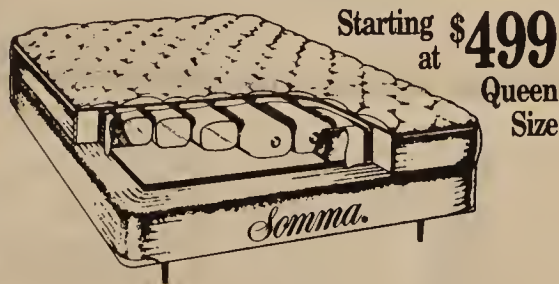
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IN THIS ISSUE

The enemy within

THE CHRONICLE is always a pretty ugly sight first thing in the morning, but today the news was especially grim: Herb Caen's column logo was plastered onto the front page, with the screaming headline, "San Francisco Is in Major Trouble. See Page B1."

I dumped the bulk of yesterday's coffee grounds out of the pot and into the sink and spilled the rest on my foot. By the time a new pot was ready, I'd managed to absorb the entire philosophical, political, conceptual, linguistic and typographical treatise that had spurred the Chron's headline writers to scare thousands of innocent civilians: Herb thinks he's spotted some social unrest, and it makes him very nervous.

In February 1988, the Collected Urban Disillusionment of Herb Caen is front-page news in the Chronicle. The fact that the Board of Supervisors just gave away a few hundred million dollars to PG&E, well, that was worth nine paragraphs on page 5.

This week, we've got a lot of news for Herb and his colleagues. To start off, former Bay Guardian City Editor Mike Miller is now living in Hong Kong — and he managed to sit in on Caen's recent speech to a group of foreign journalists there. Caen gets surprisingly honest and forthright when he's far from the prying ears of the hometown crowd: He told the gathering, for example, that the Chronicle isn't terribly interested in hot local stories. "Scoops

are not important," he said. "You make enemies." Miller's full report appears in City Limits.

Our front-page story this week isn't exactly a "scoop" — by now, anybody who's been paying any attention at all probably knows the Board of Supervisors approved the Turlock and Modesto power contracts on Monday. But if you're getting your news from the Chron and the Ex, you haven't been told anything resembling the true magnitude and impacts of the biggest San Francisco sellout of our generation.

Nothing in the dailies this week is going to make any enemies down at 77 Beale Street. The Chron's Dawn Garcia wrote, "said they were happy after yesterday's vote."

Indeed — and after the vote, the PUC and the City Attorney's Office seemed to be in much improved spirits, too. This afternoon the PUC voted in closed session to begin releasing some key documents that would have helped critics of the contracts understand how the negotiations went down and just how much the city gave away.

That's the state of open government and public records in San Francisco these days: City Hall gives out much too little, much too late — and with a very few exceptions, the City Hall press corps is much too busy reflecting on Social Disillusionment to care, and much too worried about making enemies to risk making much of a fuss.

— Tim Redmond

BayGuardian

"It is a newspaper's duty to print the news and raise hell."
(Wilbur Storey, Statement of the aims of the Chicago Times, 1861)

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LETTERS

Homeless initiative

It is a shame that J.A. Savage saw a Humboldt County housing code enforcement scheme as an opportunity to trash efforts to put an innovative and desperately needed hunger and homelessness initiative on the November 1988 ballot (Bay Guardian, 2/3/88).

Had Ms. Savage looked a little further, she would have realized that the initiative creates no new substantive offenses, contains no enforcement quotas and does not "recriminalize building code violations." Rather, funding to fight hunger and homelessness in California will be generated in several creative ways. An estimated \$50 to \$90 million annually will be raised, utilizing a citation system for violation of existing sections of the California Health and Safety Code — violations that are currently punishable as criminal misdemeanors, with a fine or imprisonment.

In addition, in order to encourage the participation of all Californians in ameliorating hunger and homelessness, a New California Savings Bond will be issued in denominations of \$100 or less. Funds from bonds, citations and other types of revenue bonds will support activities ranging from emergency food and shelter for families and individuals to health screening and referral for treatment of alcohol and drug dependency to home delivered meals for elderly and physically disabled adults at risk of becoming homeless or institutionalized.

Contrary to both Ms. Savage's and Humboldt County's understanding of the initiative, fines permissible under the measure are actually less than those permitted under the current housing laws. In fact, by creating a first offense citation penalty for violation of existing housing and food preparation laws, the California Hunger and Homelessness initiative actually reduces the maximum fine from its present \$1,000 to \$250. It also removes the possibility of imprisonment for such violations. More importantly, however, under the terms of the initiations only the most egregious offenses will ever be punishable by the maximum \$250 penalty.

Although it is true that owner-builders or owners of single-family dwellings are not exempt from

coverage under the initiative, it is the intent of the drafters to focus enforcement upon multiple-unit buildings, where most housing problems exist. For the most part, building inspectors only respond to complaints from tenants of apartment buildings and not single family dwellings.

Regrettably, the Hunger and Homelessness initiative got caught up in the local machinations of Humboldt County. What is more regrettable, however, is that the Bay Guardian fell for it, and in so doing attempted to discredit an important and significant move to alleviate hunger and homelessness in California.

Marion B. Standish
Californians Working Together
San Francisco

Sex education

Congratulations on your decision to publish the AIDS Foundation's explicit "Dress for the occasion" poster (Bay Guardian, 1/27/88). Education about AIDS, as well as about the other sexual topics, has had to fight a constant battle against the prudish attitude that can't even conceive body acceptance, let alone acceptance of the body's sexual functions.

Had education about the human body and its full sexual function been freely circulating and encouraged — like other school subjects — there would be fewer cases of AIDS, venereal diseases and unwanted pregnancies. It's just too convenient for those who want to infringe upon our right to be informed to hide behind general-purpose labels like "pornographic" or "immoral."

Alan Wiest
Berkeley

Radio politics

I enjoyed your coverage of FCC censorship of radio in your article "A First Amendment Howl" (Bay Guardian, 1/13/88), especially the thorough historical background given on the Pacifica cases.

I wanted you and your readers to know that the recent hoopla over playing or not playing *Howl* on KPFA was not just an isolated local incident, just as the FCC attacks on the Pacifica Network are not just isolated incidents. The airing of *Howl* and the Allen Ginsberg interview of "Why He Cannot Broadcast *Howl*" was part of a national week of radio programming about censorship in the U.S. called "Open Ears/Open Minds." More than 60 radio stations around the country participated in airing material that explored current and past attempts to censor, suppress or ban progressive or controversial ideas, artists and activists. It was an offensive against the current stifling and repressive atmosphere that has been building in this country over the past several years,

characterized by the book burnings and book bannings, attacks by the Parents Music Resource Center on the lyrics of popular music, and by Immigration and Naturalization Service rules that severely limit the entry of international artists to the U.S. The endorers and participants in "Open Ears/Open Minds" included the Pacifica Community Broadcasters and individual stations from KTUH in Honolulu to WBAI in NYC. The project was initiated by Melanie Collins of WRFG in Atlanta.

It is very encouraging to see that radio stations around the country are willing to unite in an offensive against censorship rather than quietly acquiescing. I would hope that more people in this supposedly free society will feel emboldened to speak their minds more openly, rather than feeling intimidated into silence. We need as much bold resistance to the real obscenities in our society as we can get.

Kitty Costello
Refuse & Resist
San Francisco

Workshops clarified

I enjoyed your article "Jobs in the Nonprofit Sector" (Bay Guardian, 2/3/88). It read well and provided much valuable information. The informational list designed to assist in finding alternative employment was an excellent aid. Women's Employment Program was glad to be included in this resource.

However, I would like to clarify an error in our service profile. The description did correctly state that we provide individual and group job counseling and workshops. What was incorrectly reported was the phrase, describing our workshops dealing with "topics such as ways to work at home." While Women's Employment Project respects women's choices regarding job opportunities, home employment is not a feature of our services.

Our workshops do cover topics such as increasing self-esteem, job skills assessments, job interviewing and resume writing. We aim to empower battered and formerly battered women and assist them in entering the workplace.

Carmela Carlyle
San Francisco

THE BAY GUARDIAN welcomes letters commenting on our coverage or other topics of local interest. Please keep all letters brief (we reserve the right to edit for length as needed), type them, sign them (unsigned letters will not be published) and include a daytime telephone number for verification. We will consider reasonable requests to withhold the name of the signatory of a letter. Send all letters to: Letters, Bay Guardian, 2700 19th St., SF 94110. Letters may also be sent by computer via the WELL (mail [ask]), the Source (BBI214) or MCI Mail (address [San Francisco Bay Guardian]).

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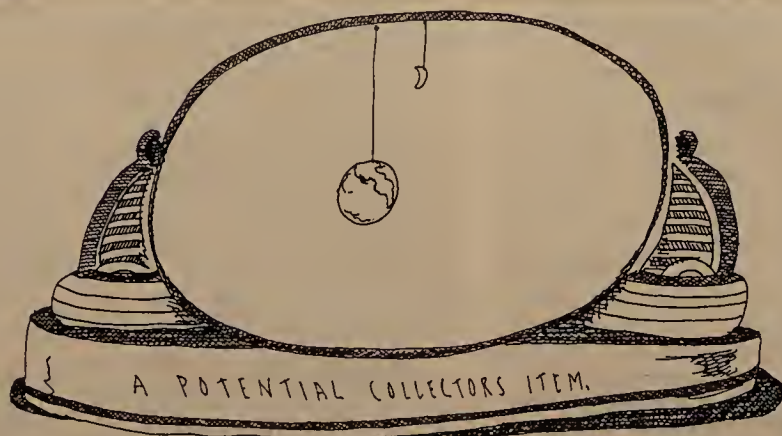
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ON GUARD

Johnston on labor Behind the chaos at Local 250

By Paul Johnston

CHAOS REIGNS once again in the San Francisco headquarters of Hospital Workers Local 250.

On orders from the Washington headquarters of the giant Service Employees International Union, reform-oriented union trustee Phil Giarrizzo — whose one-year tenure had radically increased rank and file involvement and turned the union away from decades of degeneration — was suddenly removed from office last week.

Local 250, with its 28,000 members, many of whom are black and female, represented in every major city in Northern California, is a potential linchpin of labor's progressive potential in the region's politics. But now, the future of SEIU's largest local is more than ever in question.

It's a tangled story, with a cast of curious characters. I've pieced it together from numerous interviews with a wide range of participants, most of whom insisted on anonymity.

For most of the past 15 years, Tim Twomey, the son-in-law of a former SEIU president, served as Local 250's secretary-treasurer, as international vice president and major West Coast power in SEIU, and also as president of San Francisco's Labor Council. And during that period, Twomey presided over an operation that drew increasing criticism from the rank and file.

By the mid-1980s, the old leadership was so discredited among its own members that it lacked the resources to resist growing hospital industry demands for concessions. When in late 1986 union members working for the health-care giant Kaiser refused to accept a two-tier wage plan, Local 250 officials, acknowledging that they were unable to handle the situation, called in SEIU staff from the East Coast. Due to the extraordinarily weak bargaining position of a union confronting a pre-paid health maintenance organization like Kaiser, compounded by the unfamiliarity of the national staff with the local area, this situation led to a disastrous strike outcome.

On Jan. 26, 1987, the international union placed the local in trusteeship (see Bay Guardian, 1/14/87). The local constitution and bylaws were suspended and the officers disbanded. After a quarter century as a dominant figure in Northern California's labor movement, Twomey went to work for the United Way.

Enter Phil Giarrizzo, the appointed trustee. A former blue-collar worker, Giarrizzo had come up from the ranks in the late 1970s out of SEIU sister union Local 715, in Santa Clara and San Mateo counties. He went on to lead Los Angeles County's Local 399 in the early 1980s and was subsequently elected to SEIU's international executive board. Giarrizzo is capable, hardworking, gruff, sometimes rude, and certainly no politician. He knew, though, how to implement two radical, oft-mouthed but seldom practiced union principles: Members should be involved in running their union, and unions should be willing and able to fight against management.

During 1987, under his direction, a series of reforms were introduced that set 250 on the road toward becoming a progressive union, with shop steward councils, elected negotiating committees, rank-and-file rather than staff leadership in union committees and a new, more democratic union constitution. The trusteeship had been imposed only months before a union election that most likely would have meant the end of the Twomey regime. It is a measure of Giarrizzo's ability that despite the initial suspicion surrounding this representative of the international union, Giarrizzo won the critical support of Committee for a Democratic Union, the major opposition group in the local, for the upcoming elections. By the end of 1987, hopes were high that the union would be out of trusteeship by this April.

It cannot be stressed too strongly the positive significance of these developments for progressives in SEIU, in San Francisco, in the labor movement and in Northern California in general. A similarly tangled story has recently led San Francisco's other huge union, Hotel and Restaurant Union Local 2, into the same kind of turnaround; with Local 250 also turning toward militant rank-and-file unionism, and with Walter Johnson's energy replacing Jack Crowley's moribidity at the Labor Council, the labor movement appeared to be showing slow, but steady signs of improvement.

Enter Sal Roselli, known in San Francisco politics as a perennial if unsuccessful candidate for local office. Roselli had been hired by Twomey, had proved his loyalty and been promoted under the old regime to head the union's East Bay office, and had been scheduled to appear as a candidate for vice president on Twomey's slate in the aborted 1987 election. Rallying around Roselli was a collection of other Twomey loyalists, mainly present and former union staffers. In January, they launched an early election campaign, complete with red-white-and-blue campaign brochures.

Enter also Pat Jackson, another name that is familiar to San Francisco's political insiders. Jackson had won leadership of SEIU's city worker Local 400 in the early 1980s, forged an alliance between that union and Mayor Dianne Feinstein, then managed a merger with East Bay Local 390 (yielding what we now call Local 790), handing the local over to 390's manager Paul Varicalli and moving on up to a job with the international union. Suddenly, after five years' absence, Jackson showed up in late January to serve as Giarrizzo's staff director.

Then things began to get murky. Giarrizzo was called back to Washington for "consultation." Jackson told members that Giarrizzo wanted to resign, didn't want to stay with the local and didn't want to run for office, and that she and others with the international were trying to persuade him to do so. Within a few days, the international union announced that Giarrizzo resigned, that his replacement was to be international union staffer Mark Splain, and that the new trustee would not run for office at the end of the trusteeship. Splain's first action was to fire Roselli.

Today, Giarrizzo is nursing his wounds in private, and still refuses to talk about these developments. But reliable sources in the union confirmed

that Giarrizzo's departure was in fact far from voluntary. He wanted to stay on, wanted to run and was dumped.

What remains unclear is whether this extraordinary power play in SEIU was based on a sincere assessment of the needs of the local by international staffers or whether strings have been pulled to produce a decision to hand over the enormously powerful union to someone else. Either way, someone new will now inevitably receive the international union's appointment as Twomey's heir.

Jackson appears to some to be the logical candidate. She insists, however, that she no longer has the inclination to run a local union. Jackson had been brought in by Giarrizzo himself, moreover, and at the time he professed complete trust in her good intentions and lack of personal ambition. She is also within a few years of the union's mandatory retirement age.

On the other hand, Jackson in the past has fought for union leadership, only to turn around after a short time and trade the union post for another role.

The removal of Giarrizzo and Roselli, however, will not eliminate the confrontation between Twomey's legacy and the growing number of hospital workers who grasp what it means to have real control over their own union. Any new leadership will be forced, like it or not, to take sides.

In all these machinations and maneuvers, one notion seems to have escaped the grasp of top SEIU officials: the idea that Local 250 members should select their own leadership, not ratify the choice of the international union or of Tim Twomey. There appears to exist a widely held belief that the burden of such leadership, and the task of deciding who is to lead, is just too complicated to be left to ordinary union members.

From the commanding heights of the organization, union members may appear to be puny and ignorant, and, indeed, they often need professional guidance. But union members are not stupid. They may not pay attention much of the time to union affairs, and when they do pay attention they may, in all too many unions, be too disgusted to get involved. And when they do get involved, they may not know how to exercise their real strength. But they are not stupid.

And as someone new prepares to step forward or fly in as the anointed new leader of Local 250, they may find that the international's currency has sunk as low as Twomey's, and that hospital workers choose to choose for themselves. ■

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"I don't know of any member of this board, and I don't know of anybody in the mayor's office, who is so indebted to PG&E that they are basing their decisions on the revenue of this city — on what's best for us — on the basis of how much they're going to get from PG&E."

— Supervisor Nancy Walker,
Feb. 22, 1988.

See more jolly sellout quotes from the Board of Supervisors' vote on the PG&E contracts on page 7.

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PHOTOGRAPHY BY SARAH PUCKETT



Who's afraid of PG&E? Supervisors John Molinari (left) and Richard Hongisto both said the Turlock and Modesto contracts were a bad deal for the city — but when the pressure was on, Molinari collapsed and voted Aye. Hongisto and Harry Britt were the only two supervisors who voted against PG&E.

PG&E wins big

Eight SF supervisors approve the contracts without changing a single comma or causing even a moment's delay in PG&E's timetable

By Jim Balderston and Tim Redmond

ON MONDAY, Feb. 22, 1988, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors demonstrated with historic clarity the living truth of the city's most time-honored political axiom: When the public interest clashes with the interests of PG&E, PG&E comes out on top.

The dramatic demonstration capped four years of negotiations and nearly four months of intensive political bat-

tles over a set of long-term contracts for the transportation and sale of hydroelectric power generated at the city's Hetch Hetchy water and power project in Yosemite National Park.

After about an hour of sometimes heated discussion, the supervisors voted 8-2 Monday evening to approve a pair of 27½-year contracts that provide for the sale of about two-thirds of the city's Hetch Hetchy power to the Turlock and Modesto irrigation districts. The action effectively ratified a companion contract with PG&E that

had cleared the Public Utilities Commission in December.

The immediate and long-term impacts of the board's move are profound:

- By agreeing to sell most of its hydropower to Turlock and Modesto at low bulk rates, the city has sharply limited its future energy options, crippled its ability to establish a public power system and all but ensured that local residents and businesses will remain captive to ever-increasing PG&E electric rates well into the 21st century.

- By signing away its public power legacy, the city has abandoned a potential source of as much as \$150 million a year and condemned Mayor Art Agnos to a constant wrenching battle against an escalating budget deficit that threatens the foundations of the progressive social agenda that carried him into office.

- By reversing their longtime positions in support of public power and voting to approve the contracts, supervisors Nancy Walker and Carol Ruth Silver have done serious damage to their credibility as advocates of progressive, public-interest policies and sound fiscal management and have reinforced the perception that virtually everyone at City Hall is a pawn of major campaign financiers.

- By accepting the timetable imposed by PG&E and the districts for approval of the pacts, the supervisors have thrown the ball squarely into Agnos's court, forcing the mayor to make a critical, high-stakes decision at a time when his administration is reeling from a series of crises and before he has a full, competent team of advisors and commissioners in place to assist him.

- By failing to release key documents underlying the contract negotiations, Agnos, the PUC and the City Attorney's Office have confirmed that the Reign of Secrecy at City Hall did not end when Feinstein left office this year and sent a loud and clear signal

that the new reform mayor has not put open government and public access on his political agenda.

■ By ignoring their own budget analyst and refusing to challenge the increasingly tortured arguments of the contract backers, the eight supervisors who voted for the contracts have raised a troubling question: If the supervisors can't stand up to PG&E on such an obvious, well-documented package of sellouts, how can the voters believe that anything the board does in the future, however public-spirited it seems, isn't just another juicy favor to some wealthy campaign contributor or downtown special interest? In other words, how can any of the eight contract backers expect anyone to take them seriously the next time they talk about campaign reform, lobbyist regulation, neighborhood preservation, consumer protection, civil rights or anything else that pits the public interest of the many against the money and power of the few?

THE BOARD vote on the Turlock and Modesto contracts followed a four-hour public hearing by the PUC Feb. 17th and a two-hour hearing before the board's Finance Committee on the morning of the meeting day, Feb. 22nd.

The testimony and debate, involving city officials, downtown business leaders, public power advocates, legal experts and concerned citizens, confirmed over and over two essential conclusions at the heart of the issue: The contracts are consistently and overwhelmingly unfavorable to San Francisco, and PG&E was absolutely determined to get them approved.

In the course of the hearings, PUC staff, deputy city attorneys and various elected officials sought to discredit, undercut or trivialize the criticisms raised by Supervisor Richard Hongisto, Budget Analyst Harvey Rose, San Franciscans for Public Power, the Bay Guardian and other contract foes. However, at the time the board voted to approve the pacts, not a single significant fact had been produced that credibly challenged the critics' position.

In fact, as the hearings progressed, Rose and his staff only seemed to find more flaws with the contracts, and the defenses presented by the PUC and city attorney team became progressively more convoluted and irrational.

Moreover, by the time the full board began discussing the contracts, even supervisors who were strongly in favor of the pacts acknowledged that the city had not cut a particularly favorable deal and that some of the glowing statements of contract supporters were, at best, misleading.

Supervisor John Molinari, the Finance Committee chairman, twice asked the PUC staff to inform him how much PG&E would profit from the contracts. The first time he made that request, at a committee hearing Feb. 3rd, PUC Acting General Manager Dean Coffey said he didn't know, and promised to find out. When Molinari repeated the question at the Feb. 22nd hearing, Coffey said PG&E's profit would be \$1.5 million, but could not tell the committee how that compared with PG&E's usual rate of return.

He also chastised PUC staff at the committee hearing, noting, "If I did business like that my boss would have fired me. I'd be out on the street."

Molinari expanded on his concerns later before the full board. "I do not want to wake up six months from now and read in the morning paper that we gave PG&E a sweetheart deal," he said. "I'd like to know that the PUC drove the hardest bargain possible."

Rose, testifying at the Feb. 22nd hearing, noted that there was "ab-

"The concept of municipal infallibility is less well-established than that of the pope's."

— Supervisor Bill Maher

"I've got another week before I have to come down to that fateful day and make that ultimate decision. So, as they say in baseball, I'm gonna run out the stretch, take it right down to the bottom of the ninth, 3-2 and two outs."

— Supervisor John Molinari

"Whatever is right, is right."

— Supervisor Carol Ruth Silver

"Better money in the hand than out there in the, whatever that colloquial expression is, a bird in the bush."

— Supervisor Jim Gonzalez

"The posture of our negotiating team was to salvage what we could, instead of getting the best deal we can."

— Supervisor Harry Britt

"Listening to this discussion is sometimes a little like Alice in Wonderland."

— Supervisor Richard Hongisto

PG&E's political investments

"I don't know of any member of this board, and I don't know of anybody in the Mayor's Office, who is so indebted to PG&E that they are basing their decisions on the revenue of this city — on what's best for us — on the basis of how much they're going to get from PG&E."

—Supervisor Nancy Walker

NANCY WALKER'S spirited defense of the political chastity of her City Hall colleagues is, unfortunately, at odds with the facts.

The question is simple: If PG&E money doesn't influence City Hall votes, then why were only two supervisors willing to go up against PG&E and side with logic, fiscal sanity, all the available financial evidence and the clear and demonstrated public interest on the contracts vote?

Year after year, in Washington D.C., Sacramento and San Francisco City Hall, the same point is driven home time and time again. PG&E invests liberally in politicians: As the Bay Guardian's research shows, virtually every major politician in town — nine of the 11 supervisors, both local congressional representatives, both U.S. senators from California and three of the five state legislators with districts in San Francisco — received campaign contributions from PG&E in the past five years.

And those investments pay bountiful dividends: Only one supervisor who received PG&E money voted against the contracts, and not a single federal, state or local elected official on PG&E's gift list made a public statement against the contracts or testified at the hearings.

Prospective elected officials aren't much better — not one candidate for supervisor showed up at the hearings or came out in public against the contracts. Only Roberta Achtenberg, a long-shot contender for the 16th District Assembly seat, took a stance on the issue.

On the surface, public power and the proposed contracts are local issues, but state and national politicians often embroil themselves in local politics. For example, then-Assemblyman Art Agnos campaigned for mayor largely

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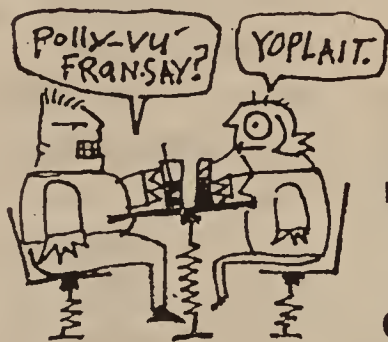
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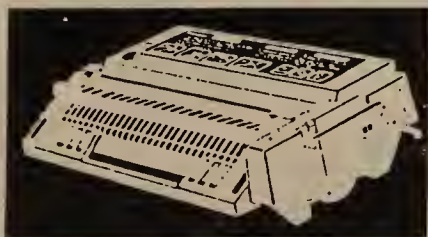
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solutely no documentation whatsoever" provided to him from the PUC to support the commission's assertion that the contracts were a "good deal" for the city. In a series of reports to the supervisors over the past month, Rose and his staff have pointed out that the contracts were negotiated without competitive bidding, that the city is receiving a comparatively low rate for the power it sells the districts and that PG&E is charging unusually high prices for transmission services and promises to back up, or "firm," the city's power in case of a drought or generator breakdown at the dam.

In fact, Rose noted in one report, the city could increase its net revenue by as much as \$52 million a year if it retailed the Hetch Hetchy power directly to San Francisco residents and businesses instead of selling it as bulk rates to Turlock and Modesto.

Hongisto went even further. By establishing a public power system in San Francisco, he calculated, San Francisco could net roughly \$140 million a year.

Critics also complained that the contracts were negotiated, as Supervisor Harry Britt put it, "from a position of weakness."

"There has been a mood of intimidation and a posture of fear and weakness," Britt stated at the board meeting. "There is sufficient evidence that they are not the best possible deal."

Britt's comments addressed one of the central arguments put forward by the PUC staff and the deputy city attorneys who advocated contract approval. The terms of the contracts, supporters have asserted, were determined in part by an agreement between Feinstein and Rep. Tony Coelho (D-Merced), negotiated in 1984 to head off Coelho's threat to pass legislation requiring San Francisco to sell Hetch Hetchy power at cost. Given that threat and the constraints Coelho imposed, the contracts were as good as they could be, backers asserted.

Coelho's legislation, however, ultimately would not have hurt the city's revenue base. In fact, under the legislation, the city would have almost certainly been forced to do what Congress intended when it passed the Raker Act: sell public Hetch Hetchy power in San Francisco (see Bay Guardian, Feb. 17, 1988).

In fact, the evidence presented at the hearings only further supported a basic claim of contract foes: that Feinstein and her representatives failed to use the city's obvious, powerful leverage — the threat of municipalization — to force the districts and PG&E into a better deal.

"You have to remember," Britt noted, "we have the water."

THE DEPUTY city attorneys and PUC staff who argued in favor of the contracts took pains to point out at every opportunity that approval of the contracts "would not preclude municipalization." The issue came up at every hearing, and every time it came up, Rose would patiently explain — to the PUC, to the Finance Committee and to the full board — that while the contracts would not legally block municipalization, they would make it far less financially feasible.

The reason is simple: By selling two-thirds of the Hetch Hetchy hydropower to the districts at cheap rates, the city is losing a public power system's best asset — a large established generating facility that can produce electricity at essentially no cost. The money the city would get by selling its own cheap hydropower to its residents and businesses at retail rates would provide the revenue base to fund the

purchase of transmission and distribution facilities and the start-up costs of a municipal utility, Rose noted. Without that cheap source of electricity, the economics of a municipal power system would be far less attractive.

The strongest support for the contracts, other than the statements of the PUC staff and city attorneys who negotiated them, came from downtown — the Chamber of Commerce and SPUR. Chamber Associate Director Richard Morten appeared at the Feb. 17th hearing to testify in favor of the contracts, saying they were "good for the city." So did Michael McGill, SPUR's executive director who had taken a leave of absence to work with Feinstein on the negotiations last fall.

The PUC and Finance Committee hearings were open to public testimony. However, not a single representative of a local employee union, community group or activist organization — the groups most affected by the budget deficit and most vocal in the battle against layoffs or cutbacks in services — bothered to testify.

None of the city's elected officials from Sacramento or Washington attended the hearings, either — Willie Brown, Milton Marks, Nancy Pelosi, Alan Cranston, Leo McCarthy, Quentin Kopp and Barbara Boxer all were noticeably absent, and none so much as sent a written statement or a representative.

Only Roberta Achtenberg, who is challenging John Burton for the 16th District Assembly seat, took a stand, sending an aide to testify against the contracts on her behalf.

The hearings confirmed the fact that the negotiations had been conducted under such a strict veil of secrecy that even the budget analyst was unable to gain access to the key documents he needed to fully analyze the contracts.

In fact, at the Feb. 22nd board

meeting, Molinari asked Rose to explain to the supervisors why so much confusion remained over the actual fiscal impacts of the contracts. "We do not have sufficient information," to assess the contracts, Rose responded. "In our opinion, neither does the PUC."

Despite repeated requests, the Bay Guardian has not been able to get access to key memos, notes and other documents produced by the Mayor's Office during the key period in the fall of 1987 when Feinstein stepped in to conclude the contract talks. Agnos has contended that he has no records in his office from that period.

However, during the committee hearing before the board meeting, McGill, who had worked as a Feinstein aide in the negotiations, acknowledged that he had written at least one memo on the subject and stored it in the memory banks of the Mayor's Office computer. But the board refused Hongisto's request to continue the contract approval until those memos and any others that might be tucked away somewhere are collected and made public.

Agnos has done nothing visible to investigate the whereabouts of the records or to demand they be made public. In fact, Agnos has become increasingly unwilling to do or say anything critical about the contracts.

At the Feb. 22nd Finance Committee hearing, Coffey announced that he had spoken with Agnos and that "the mayor indicated that he was pleased by the answers given" at the PUC hearing few days earlier.

At that point, Molinari asked Coffey if the mayor approved of the contracts. Coffey would only respond that the mayor had instructed him to say "many of the questions were answered."

Molinari then asked, "Where is the

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PG&E's political contributions

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on his role as a mediator in such local issues as the construction of affordable housing above a Standard Brands store. And when Representative Tony Coelho threatened to amend the Raker Act in 1984, Congresswoman Sala Burton and Senator Alan Cranston were involved in the negotiations between Coelho and Mayor Dianne Feinstein that led to the secret agreement that laid the groundwork for the current contracts.

Further, the Rostenkowski Amendment, congressional legislation that undercut public power buyout efforts, played a role in PG&E's recent anti-public power moves. Senator Alan Cranston opposed the amendment early on, but congresswomen Nancy Pelosi and Barbara Boxer voiced their opposition only after the Bay Guardian publicized their inaction on the issue. And none of the three played a key role in the anti-Rostenkowski battle. Federal Election Commission reports from 1983 to 1987 show that the campaigns of federal Bay Area politicians are heavily funded by PG&E's federal Good Government Fund PAC. Here are their cumulative PG&E contributions over the past five years:

Senator Alan Cranston	\$ 9,850
Senator Pete Wilson	5,400
Representative Barbara Boxer	1,910
Representative Nancy Pelosi	2,500
Total federal contributions	\$159,000

And documents filed with the California Secretary of State's Office from 1985 through Sept. 30, 1987 show the level of funding provided to state and local politicians, including nine of the 11 supervisors, by PG&E's state PAC:

Assemblyman Art Agnos	\$ 600
Assembly Speaker Willie Brown	5,050
Mayor Dianne Feinstein	1,875
Supervisor Jim Gonzalez	250
Supervisor Richard Hongisto	750
Supervisor Tom Hsieh	650
Supervisor Willie Kennedy	750
State Senator Quentin Kopp	1,350
Supervisor Bill Maher	750
Supervisor John Molinari	500
Supervisor Carol Ruth Silver	750
Assemblywoman Jackie Speier	1,190
Supervisor Wendy Nelder	1,050
Supervisor Doris Ward	250

If any of these people want to prove that the Bay Guardian is wrong and Nancy Walker is right, all they have to do is show that they are willing to oppose PG&E on one major issue. We're waiting on the edges of our seats.

— Craig McLaughlin



Principal Budget Analyst Ken Bruce (left) confers with Budget Analyst Harvey Rose at the Feb. 22nd Finance Committee hearing. Rose has been asked by Supervisor John Molinari to return to the board on Feb. 29th with a "Yes or no, up or down" recommendation.

Sandbagging the critics

SF's PUC nearly prevents two contract critics from testifying at a hearing

By Jim Balderston

THE SAN FRANCISCO Public Utilities Commission hit two prominent critics of its proposed power contracts with bureaucratic sandbags last week as the panel stepped up efforts to defuse or discredit growing concerns over the long-term contracts.

Board of Supervisors Budget Analyst Harvey Rose and Supervisor Richard Hongisto both had to overcome significant roadblocks that threatened their ability to present testimony critical of the contracts at a crowded PUC hearing Feb. 17th.

Rose, who has authored a report raising serious questions about the 27½-year pacts with PG&E and the Turlock and Modesto irrigation districts, was not informed until one hour before the hearing that the PUC staff had prepared a detailed rebuttal to his report and that he would be asked to testify in response.

The PUC staff had prepared a 20-page memo for the hearing that had an additional 20 pages of addenda. Rose said he did not receive a copy of that memo until 4:30 pm, Feb. 17th, just one hour before the hearing convened.

There is, however, evidence that the PUC staff had known at least two days before the hearing that the commission would want Rose to testify. The Bay Guardian has obtained a letter to Board President Nancy Walker requesting Rose's presence at the hearing, signed by PUC Acting General Manager Dean Coffey and dated Feb. 15th.

The letter contains a notation indicating that a copy was to be delivered to Rose's office. However, Rose said that copy did not arrive until an hour before the meeting.

PUC Finance Bureau Director Anson Moran told the Bay Guardian the letter to Walker and the copy to

Rose were sent to their respective offices on Monday. "I don't know why it did not reach Rose until [Wednesday]," he said.

Moran also told the Bay Guardian the PUC staff report was completed Wednesday morning. He said the report should have been at Rose's office "by noon, give or take an hour." Moran said he "did not know what happened" to the report to cause its subsequent late delivery to Rose.

Hongisto, meanwhile, said he learned shortly before the commission hearing that Commissioner Mark Buell had asked the City Attorney's Office for an opinion as to whether Hongisto, as a supervisor, was legally barred from testifying before the PUC. The City Charter states that supervisors cannot "interfere" with the actions of an administrative commission, and in response to Buell's request, Deputy City Attorney Buck Delventhal informed Hongisto that the non-interference clause would preclude his appearing as a witness at the PUC hearing.

Hongisto came to the hearing anyway, however, and after the hearing began, he went to a pay telephone and called Delventhal at home. "I started thinking about it," Hongisto later told the Bay Guardian, "and I wondered exactly who would be in a position to prosecute me if I went ahead and testified. I asked Delventhal, and he said it would be up to either the grand jury or the mayor. I figured I'd take my chances with the grand jury, and the mayor was right there at the hearing, so I decided to ask him."

Hongisto returned to the hearing room and strode up to the podium. He addressed Mayor Art Agnos, who was sitting with the commissioners, and asked whether Agnos intended to prosecute him if he testified. Agnos, appearing surprised, assured Hongisto that he wouldn't, and Hongisto went ahead with his remarks.

Hongisto, in a strongly worded, five-minute statement, repeated concerns he had raised in the past about the cost to the city of the contracts and the vast potential revenue that would be lost if they were approved.

ROSE WAS visibly agitated while he read a five-page prepared statement before the commission that blasted the PUC Finance Bureau staff report prepared for the hearing.

"I do take strong exception to some of the comments [in] your report for tonight's meeting," Rose told the commissioners. He went on to repeat his serious questions about the PUC's efforts to properly assess the value of Hetch Hetchy power before agreeing to a price with the Modesto and Turlock irrigation districts.

"With respect to our premise on the importance of a competitive process, when selling a commodity, in our judgment, until such a competitive process is completed, only then can the city be certain that the price it receives for the sale of the hydroelectric power results in the maximum potential revenue for the city," Rose explained.

Rose also blasted the PUC report as being misleading. "With respect to the bidding for supplemental power and support services under the PG&E contract, all of these matters contained [in] the PUC report are totally inaccurate," he stated.

Rose and Bruce declined to comment on the short notice they received or the PUC staff report beyond the written statement read by Rose. Rose, however, said the late notice had "no effect" upon his ability to report accurately to the PUC.

Rose and Hongisto weren't the only ones to suffer from the PUC's bureaucratic sandbags. Testimony from the public at the Feb. 17th hearing was limited to five minutes a person, and the commission had refused to make key documents relating to the contract negotiations available to the public in advance of the hearing.

Nor was Rose the only critic whose comments were subjected to rebuttal in the PUC staff report presented at the hearing. The report also sought to undercut the Bay Guardian's analysis of the contracts — in fact, the commission staff projected a Bay Guardian article titled "What's wrong with the contracts" onto an overhead screen at the hearing and read a point-by-point rebuttal into the record.

The hearings represented Agnos's one significant public effort to re-examine the contracts that his predecessor had negotiated and that her PUC had approved unanimously in December. At that time, Agnos had called the commission's action "arrogant." However, he has not pressed his demand that the commissioners resign, and in fact has not even replaced two Feinstein appointees, Buell and Charna Staten, whose terms expired in January.

It's not terribly surprising that the same Feinstein commissioners who rammed the contracts through in December with little public input and no significant questions would seek to turn the one serious hearing on the issue into little more than a token nod at public testimony on a matter the commission clearly considers long since settled.

It is, however, both surprising and disturbing that Agnos, a reform mayor who has long professed to support public power, would allow a Feinstein-appointed PUC that has all but sworn a public oath of loyalty to PG&E to provide the only forum for review and oversight over a set of contracts that would cost the city tens of millions of dollars over the next 27½ years and allow PG&E to continue to maintain effective control over the city's historic public power legacy.

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Lunch with Dick Clarke

*Tracking how PG&E got a hand on the
Hetch Hetchy spigot — and other
Einstein giveaways*

"The city has been leading from weakness from the very beginning of this contract. There's always been a mood of intimidation, a sense that we have a lot to lose and not very much to gain. It was definitely a posture of fear and weakness, and if I've learned anything in politics, it's that you don't win if you lead from weakness."

— Supervisor Harry Britt

reserves, the length of the contract and the amount of surplus capacity PG&E already carries.

"We do not agree that \$6.25 is a reasonable rate," the authors wrote. The mayor should accept the \$6.25 rate, they noted, if and only if PG&E agreed in full to the rest of San Francisco's proposal or produced a very similar proposal that provided the same protections. Otherwise, the authors said, "We believe a cost of \$3.00 to \$3.50 is more reasonable." Unless the package is accepted as a whole, the memo explains, the contract would create "more dry year risk than the City can bear and is therefore impossible to support."

Over the 27½-year life of the contract, a \$6.25 rate at 23 percent would cost the city \$123 million — a \$3.50 rate would cost the city \$53 million less.

The memo goes on to identify the outlines of the four-point proposal. The final contract approved by the PUC in December contains the \$6.25 capacity reserve rate at 23 percent — so if Feinstein had followed her advisers' strongly worded advice, PG&E should have accepted the entire city proposal.

However, the final contract differs on several points from the package Feinstein took to the lunch with Clarke. City officials involved in the negotiation told the Bay Guardian that Feinstein won most of the concessions she was told to ask for in return for accepting the \$6.25 rate.

Deputy City Attorney Len Snader told the Bay Guardian, "We got the equivalent in dollars of the things we were asking for."

Moran added that the final contract was even better than expected. "[Feinstein] followed the recommendation of staff and actually did better than we set out to do," he told the Bay Guardian.

Without the city's full original proposal, which city agencies have refused to release, it is difficult to compare the final contract with the original proposal. Based on what is available, it appears that Feinstein convinced Clarke in November to accept some of her proposals — specifically, on the cost of reserving transmission lines to carry power into the city and the airport, the rate structure for purchasing supplemental power during dry years when the output from Hetch Hetchy is low, the city's ability to contract to sell power to buyers not assigned to PG&E and other points.

However, a review of the briefing memo and a comparison with the final PG&E contract suggests that Feinstein entered the November lunch meeting prepared to give away far more than her aides had thought wise when she entered the talks in September. And by the time the contract was signed, she had given away even more. The briefing memo, for example, warns against provisions that would allow PG&E to limit

By Craig McLaughlin

IF ANYBODY still doubts the truth of what Harry Britt expressed at Monday's board meeting on the PG&E and Turlock and Modesto power contracts, documents released last week by Mayor Art Agnos should put the matter to rest.

The documents, a set of briefing papers presented to Mayor Dianne Feinstein in preparation for a November lunch with PG&E Chairman Richard Clarke, show just how much Feinstein was willing to give away to satisfy PG&E's demands.

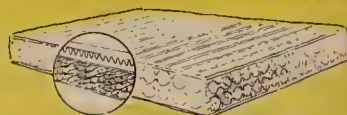
Specifically, the documents show that Feinstein accepted a "capacity reserve charge" of almost twice what her staff recommended, and accepted a rate for power sold to PG&E customers that her staff warned would cost the city \$100 million over the life of the contract.

And despite a warning from her staff that such a move would be "bad policy," Feinstein gave PG&E the right to ask the city to limit the amount of water it releases from the Hetch Hetchy dam at times when PG&E has excess power in its system and wants to cut back on its generating capacity.

The briefing paper is undated and unsigned, but Anson Moran, PUC finance director, told the Bay Guardian the document was a team effort and that he was the principal author. Moran said he could not remember the date of the memo but Eileen Maloney, Agnos's press secretary, said in a note attached to the document that it had been presented to Feinstein in preparation for a November lunch with Clarke. Feinstein had entered the negotiations over long-term power sale contracts with PG&E and the Turlock and Modesto irrigation districts in September, when the city's negotiating team reported the talks had reached an impasse (see Bay Guardian, Feb. 17, 1988).

The briefing paper warned Feinstein against accepting PG&E's latest offer for capacity reserve — money paid to PG&E for maintaining the extra capacity to supply the city with power in dry years and emergencies. Capacity reserve charges are based on the theoretical cost of building and maintaining a non-existent power plant that would produce the extra electricity. The utility wanted a guarantee of \$6.25 per kilowatt month for 23 percent of Hetch Hetchy's capacity. The city called this figure extremely high compared with what other utilities charge, the likelihood that the city's hydroelectric system will require much

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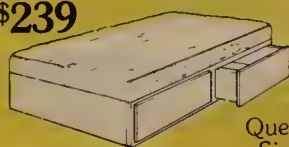
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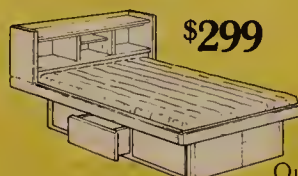
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PG&E's web of influence

Wives, lawyers and campaign managers.... How PG&E gets access to local politicians

By Craig McLaughlin

P G&E'S INFLUENCE in San Francisco is not limited to its ability to saturate the town with massive campaign contributions and donations to community groups. For instance, the company hires the law firms of several prominent local politicians and has employed the wives of at least two key city officials. Such arrangements are not illegal, and the individuals involved all insist that PG&E's ties to their firms and families had no influence on the city's contract negotiations with PG&E. But combined with the company's political donations, public relations expenses and lobbying efforts, PG&E's web of influence helps explain why San Francisco still has not realized its historic right to public power — and why the vast majority of political and community leaders and national, state and local elected officials from San Francisco have been silent on the contracts issue.

A Bay Guardian inquiry has turned up the following connections:

James Lazarus: The former deputy mayor's wife, Ann Lazarus, was PG&E's director of investor relations until Oct. 1, 1987. Budget analysts in Mayor Dianne Feinstein's office reported to Jim Lazarus, and he received a Sept. 16, 1987 memo from analyst Stacy Becker briefing him on the PG&E contracts. Lazarus told the Bay Guardian his wife's position meant he had a conflict of interest under state law and he had disqualified himself from involvement in the PG&E contracts. He said he asked Becker to report directly to the mayor after receiving the Sept. 16th memo. He also told Feinstein during a September meeting that he could not be involved in any discussion of the PG&E contracts, he said.

Michael McGill: When Feinstein personally entered the negotiations with PG&E and the irrigation districts last September, she brought McGill aboard to help with the negotiations. He later testified in favor of the contracts at several hearings. McGill is executive director of SPUR, a pro-downtown business group that received a whopping \$10,000 donation from PG&E in 1986, the last year for which company reports are available. From Sept. 24 to Dec. 22, 1987, McGill was on leave from SPUR and received \$1,344 a week from the city for his work as a special assistant for program development in the Mayor's Office. He has insisted that his role as a representative of the city in contract negotiations with one of his organization's biggest financial backers presented no conflict of interest whatsoever.

Rudy Nothenberg: San Francisco's chief administrative officer married Margo Eachus, a PG&E employee, on Feb. 20, 1987, just months after he left the top post at the Public Utilities Commission. Nothenberg told the Bay Guardian his wife is a low-level computer programmer and did not conduct any business before the PUC. Like Lazarus, he also excused himself on conflict of interest grounds at the

September meeting with Feinstein.

Richie Ross: The man who designed Agnos's successful mayoral campaign and is now designing the campaign strategy for John Burton's Assembly race is also under contract to PG&E as a political consultant. Ross was hired in October to help with PG&E's campaign to take over the Sacramento Municipal Utilities District. Ross told the Bay Guardian PG&E agreed to pay him \$80,000 for a consulting contract that runs until June 1st.

PG&E, however, has since broken off discussions with SMUD, but the contract is still in effect — Ross, in other words, is now receiving some \$10,000 a month, but has no specific duties at all. He also told the Bay Guardian that Agnos knew during the mayoral campaign that Ross was also working for PG&E, and did not object to the arrangement.

Willie L. Brown Jr.: The powerful speaker of the assembly has insisted that he is not involved in the debate surrounding the PG&E contracts. "I'm not a municipal person," he told the Bay Guardian through his press secretary recently. But Brown often does meddle in city politics — for example, in 1986 he led a campaign to remove Myra Kopf from the school board. And he has repeatedly represented major local developers before city agencies and commissions.

Brown's silence on the PG&E contracts could be due to a lack of interest on his part or to his preoccupation with his struggle to hold on to the speakership — but it also might have something to do with extensive PG&E campaign contributions, or the fact that his law firm does legal work for PG&E. In 1986, his firm received \$9,500 from PG&E for unspecified legal work, according to the company's annual report.

John Burton: As the front-runner for the 16th Assembly District seat vacated by Mayor Art Agnos, Burton could make the contracts and municipalization a major issue in his campaign. But Burton has been virtually silent on the matter. One possible reason: PG&E's 1986 annual report shows Burton received \$75,681 from the company last year. Burton told the Bay Guardian in January that he was still receiving \$2,500 a month from the utility, and he won't give up the retainer as a candidate or assemblyman.

Jim Gonzalez: Like almost all the other supervisors, Gonzalez has received donations from PG&E's Good Government Fund, but the first-term supervisor was also the beneficiary of a special — and timely — Jan. 28th fundraiser hosted by Jackie and Howard Nemerovski. Howard Nemerovski is a partner of the law firm that wrote a key pro-PG&E opinion on the Turlock and Modesto contract for the City Attorney's Office. A list of special supporters on the invitation included Brown, former Mayor Dianne Feinstein, Burton, Laurence J. Simi, a PG&E political lobbyist and Don Solem, whose firm, Solem, Loeb Associates, has been giving PG&E strategic planning advice on the irrigation district contracts. ■

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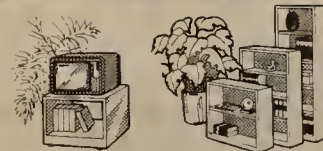
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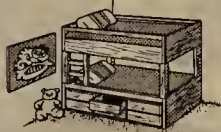
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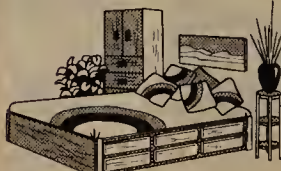
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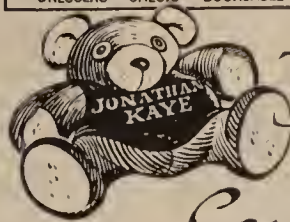
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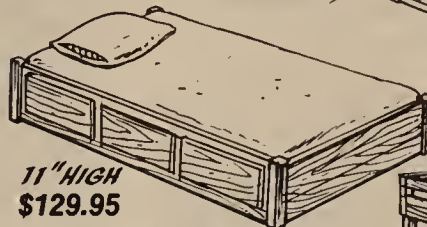
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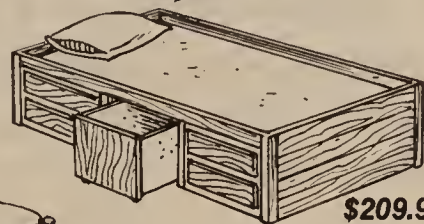
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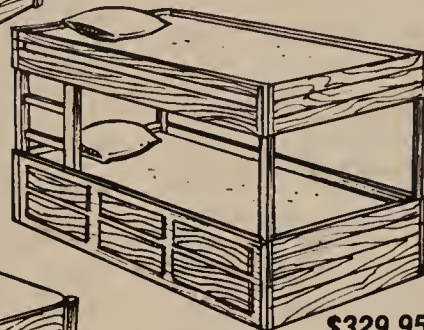


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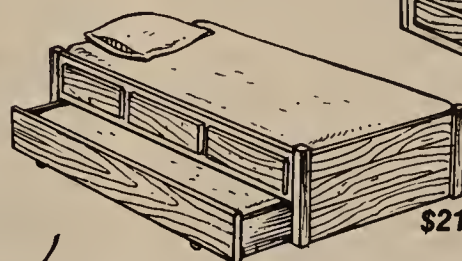
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Advice to a struggling mayor

LET US remember the names and faces of the PG&E Eight on the front pages of this Bay Guardian: Supervisors Nancy Walker, Carol Ruth Silver, Jim Gonzalez, Tom Hsieh, John Molinari, Bill Maher, Doris Ward and Wendy Nelder.

When the chips were down, the PG&E Eight knowingly and willfully voted for PG&E and against the city and county of San Francisco on contracts that give away more than \$4.1 billion to PG&E over the next 30 years.

When the city was facing a \$150 million budget deficit and impending layoffs of 1,000 or more city employees, the PG&E Eight recklessly voted to put the city at enormous risk for three more decades and give up any practical chance of bringing our own cheap Hetch Hetchy power home to local businesses and residents and gaining what the board's budget analyst estimates would be a revenue increase of \$52 million a year.

When the city's big and small businesses were under enormous economic pressure and being asked to provide more jobs to the community and tax money to the city, the PG&E Eight voted to impose on the local economy the crippling burden of another 30 years of ever-increasing PG&E electric rates — rates that are already the fifth highest in the nation.

When the Secretary of the Interior had come to the Commonwealth Club to promote his plans to tear down the dam and drain Hetch Hetchy Valley, the PG&E Eight voted to give him and his successors a supply depot full of live ammunition to use to revoke the city's grant and take back the dam.

The Eight even voted against Supervisor Richard Hongisto's last-ditch effort to win a week's delay and seek an amendment that would protect the city's right to institute public power at a later date. And they rejected the efforts of the Bay Guardian and the Northern California Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, to suspend approval until the wealth of key documents that have remained secret or have disappeared are collected and made public.

In short, acting as if they were all on the corporate payroll, the PG&E Eight voted to continue the 75-year-old, \$165 million a year Raker Act scandal and thereby screw over once again every San Franciscan who ever has had cause to throw a light switch or turn on a TV set.

In 1925, when the board approved the first set of sellout contracts and approved PG&E's scheme to block the city from completing its transmission lines from Newark across the Bay, the public rose up in outrage, and every supervisor who voted for the contracts was soundly defeated for re-election.

Sixty-three years later, that's an idea whose time has come again.

The behavior of the PG&E Eight is possibly the strongest argument to date in favor of district supervisor elections. District supervisors would have considerable trouble explaining their pro-PG&E votes. In a district race, big campaign contributions and lobbying from PG&E and its allies at the Chamber of Commerce and SPUR would not protect an incumbent from the wrath of the citizens and the neighborhoods.

Ultimately, the city's 8-2 trouncing at the hands of PG&E ought to become the rallying point for a citywide movement to clear all the tired old hacks out of City Hall and bring in a whole new generation of political leaders who will not act like wholly owned subsidiaries of every giant corporation or wealthy interest group that waves a fistful of dollars in their face.

And so, after the PG&E Eight complete the work of their patron and finalize the contract approval next Monday, the contracts will go to the new, struggling reform mayor, who for so many years was so strong an advocate of public power that it's hard to believe he would blithely go along with PG&E's agenda and sign the contracts without serious scrutiny and major revisions.

All the signs from the mayor's office have been bad: Agnos has gone down to PG&E and meekly accepted Dick Clarke's admonition that PG&E has enough votes lined up on the board to block any public power effort. He has failed to replace Feinstein's pro-PG&E commissioners on the PUC. He has refused to find a strong new public power-oriented general manager to replace Don Birrer at the departmental helm.

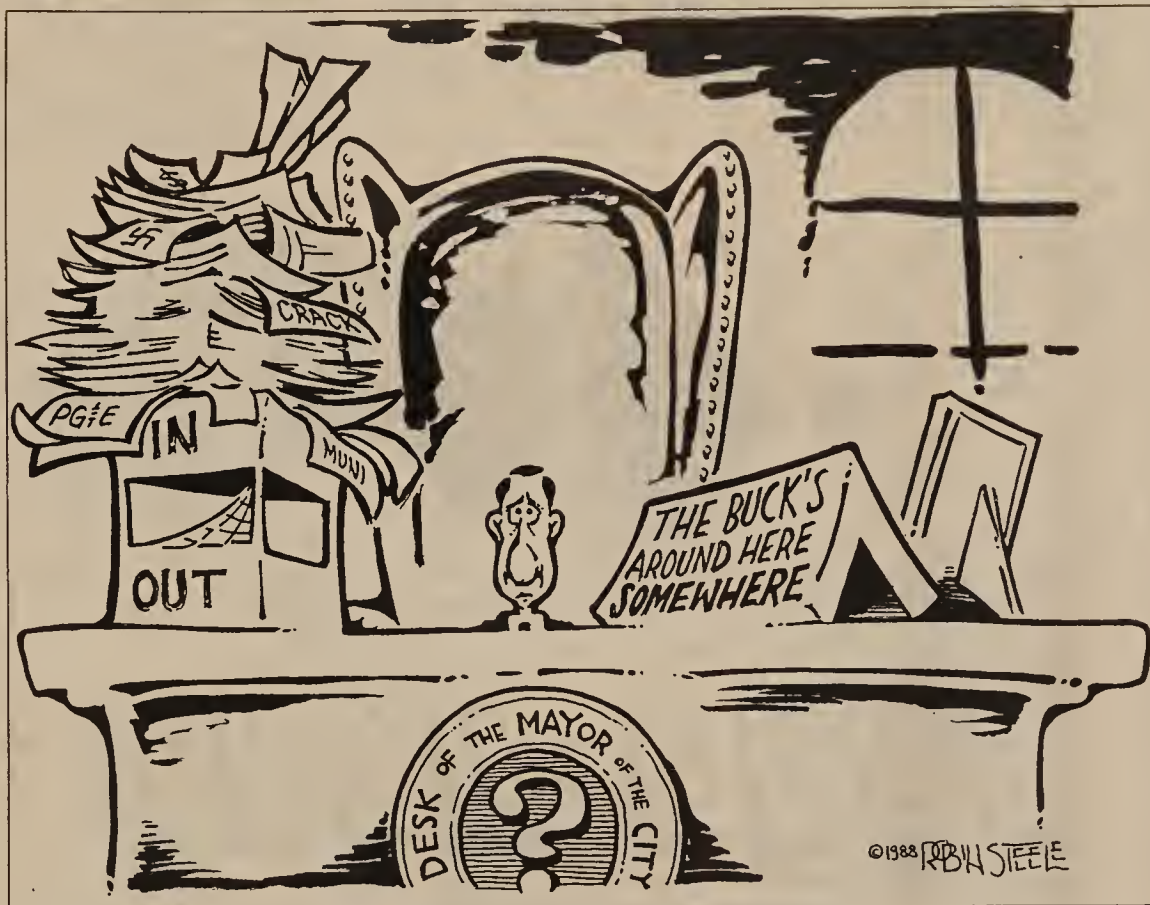
As of press time, Agnos was still ducking, his press secretary sticking to her story that the mayor "has no position" on the contracts. But the buck will soon have to stop, squarely on the desk of the new mayor. And it will do so at a time when Agnos's administration is struggling to put out brush fires on almost every front.

It's been a tough six weeks for Agnos — the Fire Department is virtually out of control, the buses are under attack in Hunters Point, the police are shooting teenagers and rousting the homeless from Golden Gate Park, the deficit is growing like a cancer, Herb Caen is back from Hong Kong and getting restless... and Agnos has not appointed a single new commissioner to help him bring a single city agency back or initiated a single major new program.

In short, the new administration is in trouble, and Agnos needs to start acting like the mayor he promised he would be — a tough, effective leader who moves affirmatively to take on issues and problems on his own terms instead of waiting for crisis to erupt and scrambling for a response.

This may be his last and best chance to prove that he takes the mandate of the voters seriously and that he will not continue Feinstein's legacy of secrecy and sellouts. If Agnos approves the contracts without so much as a whimper, he — and the city — will be in for a long, long four years. On the other hand, if he takes the initiative, demands the release of all the key documents, rejects the contracts as they are and appoints a new, capable negotiating team to begin working with Turlock, Modesto and PG&E on a new set of agreements, he will take a giant step out of the doldrums and into what could be a promising era of change at City Hall. It's the mayor's move — the constituency that put him in office will be watching.

PS: A tip of the hat to Richard Hongisto and Harry Britt, the only two supervisors with the guts and integrity to oppose PG&E. Hongisto deserves special credit for leading the difficult battle against the contracts and for speaking out with skill and passion on every possible occasion in favor of the people who pay the supervisor's salaries, not the big corporations that underwrite their campaigns. Thanks, Dick, from all of us.



POLITICAL ALERTS

Of Alameda elections and nuclear testing

Supervisor Knox drops a bombshell: Three out of five district seats on the Alameda County Board of Supervisors will be up for election this November, but only one seat is really open. No serious opposition has emerged to incumbents Ed Campbell (1st District) and John George (5th District). However, first-term Supervisor Bob Knox (4th District) surprised just about everybody Jan. 12th when he announced he would not seek re-election because he wanted to spend more time with his family and his business. Knox did not return Bay Guardian phone calls, but at least one East Bay political insider close to Knox said the supervisor's decision might have been influenced by two crashes — the crash of the stock market last October, and the crash of a PSA airliner earlier this year. The stock market crash gave Knox a financial scare, the source said, and forced him to devote more time and energy to his financial affairs. The PSA crash gave him a psychological scare — Knox, the source told us, was just minutes away from boarding the fateful flight, and the close encounter with mortality made him decide to devote more time to his family life.

Knox's announcement set off a flurry of activity among possible successors. According to *Calpeek*, a weekly newsletter of California politics, interested parties included Knox aide Mary King, Jeff Stark, the son of Congressman Pete Stark (D-Oakland), Oakland City Councilwoman Marge Gibson, San Leandro Mayor Dave Karp and attorney Frank Russo. But according to several political observers, most of the well-known contenders have bowed out, leaving King the clear front-runner. San Leandro City Councilmember Don McGue has also announced and Castro Valley School Board member Sally Trautwein told the Bay Guardian she is considering a run.

King told the Bay Guardian she has been endorsed by State Senator Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward), a powerful force in Alameda politics. King worked as an aide to Lockyer from 1976 to 1984, when she went to work for Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson. She said she has also been endorsed by Wilson, Knox, and the majority of the Oakland City Council and of the board. Despite such powerful support, however, observers say King could be vulnerable — she is a black woman and a Democrat running in an overwhelmingly white district that has changed only slightly since it was designed in the mid-1970s for Joe Bort, a moderate Republican. In fact, the district — which contains Piedmont, the Oakland hills, San Leandro and unincorporated areas of Castro Valley is almost tailor-made for a candidate like Oakland City Councilmember Dick Spees, but Spees is rumored to have his eye on Wilson's job and has shown little interest in running for anything else.

Desert disobedience: Sixty miles northwest of Las Vegas sits the United States' only test site for nuclear weapons. More than 650 underground nuclear explosions have been detonated there since 1963, and in recent years, the Nevada Test Site has also been the scene of several demonstrations. Last Feb. 5th, 438 protesters were arrested on the site, and another 746 were arrested on Mother's Day. American Peace Test, a coalition of peace and antinuclear groups around the county, has called for another occupation and blockade for March 12th through 20th, and organizers expect it to be the largest demonstration yet. Several different groups are involved in the mobilization effort locally, but much of the transportation coordination and scheduling of nonviolent training sessions required for people planning to do civil disobedience is being handled

by SANE/FREEZE, 621-0858 (Kami).

Watch this space for more details.

Short takes: Thursday/25 — California Press Women presents "Inside City Hall and the Reporters Who Cover It," a luncheon forum with Eileen Cahill Maloney, Mayor Art Agnos's press secretary, Carol Ness, SF Examiner political editor, KRON's Belva Davis and KCBS's Barbara Taylor. 11:30 am, Academy Grill, California Culinary Academy, Turk at Polk, SF. \$20. Reservations required. Info.: 874-0148.... The California Water Policy Group sponsors "In Celebration of Water: A Cultural and Political Evening," featuring a water tasting, photography exhibits and the presentation of the Golden Faucet Award to a key player in last year's water wars. 6:30-9 pm, 3220 Gallery, 3220 Sacramento, SF. Donation. Info.: 549-2821.... **Friday/26** — Holly Near performs at a re-election campaign fundraiser and 50th birthday party for Assemblyman Tom Bates (D-East Bay). 6 pm, Hyatt Regency, 1001 Broadway, Oakl. \$100. Info.: 849-1986.... **Tuesday/1** — Bioregionalist Peter Berg, director of the Planet Drum Foundation, speaks on "Green Cities in the Bay Area," with music by Maxina Ventura, as part of the the Friendship Earth lecture series to benefit Northern California Greens groups. 7:30 pm, UC Berkeley, 155 Dwinelle Hall, Berk. Info.: 849-3616.

—Edited by Craig McLaughlin, with assistance from Laura W. Brill and Elizabeth Schwarte

Political announcements, inside information, legislative alerts and other items concerning the electoral and cultural machinations of power may be sent to: Political Alerts, San Francisco Bay Guardian, 2700 19th St., SF 94110. Be sure to include a daytime phone number where you can be reached. For dated material, please give us a 14-day lead time prior to the event.

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PG&E

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mayor on this?"

Coffey responded, "The PUC recommends approval."

Molinari asked again: "Are you saying that your boss, the mayor, has no position?"

Coffey answered, "That is correct."

Eileen Maloney, Agnos' press secretary, later confirmed to the Bay Guardian that the mayor has "no position" on the contracts.

THE FIRST clear signs of the impending 8-2 PG&E avalanche appeared at 4:55 Monday afternoon, about 30 minutes into the board's contract debate, when Supervisor Carol Ruth Silver, a longtime supporter of public power, announced that she would vote for the contracts. "The contracts are for above market rates and will not effect efforts to municipalize," she said.

Hongisto and Britt both made detailed and impassioned arguments against the contracts, explaining that they were not a good deal and would, indeed, hurt future municipalization efforts. But the remaining supervisors were not susceptible to logical persuasion. Although almost every speaker agreed that the city was not getting the best deal possible, all but Hongisto and Britt found cause to vote for the contracts anyway.

Toward the end of the debate, Walker, the board president who also has always been an outspoken public power advocate, put the final nails in the public power coffin when she rose to say that she, too, was going to vote for the contracts. She said she wanted "to associate myself with the comments of Supervisor Maher," who earlier had launched a rambling attack on public power and charged that "the concept of municipal infallibility is less well-established than that of the pope."

Walker, like Maher, acknowledged that the contracts were not entirely good for San Francisco. But the city, she said, "could have done a lot worse."

Molinari, too, ultimately announced he would back the contracts, although he preceded his announcement with considerable blustering and sighing. In the two hearings he chaired, Molinari had presented a firm and critical visage, asking sharp questions of the PUC and city attorneys staff and issuing repeated rebukes as the evidence of the shoddy negotiations and unfavorable results began to mount.

But when all was said and done, he could only express his dismay with the sad state of affairs that compelled him to go ahead and vote for a demonstrably bad deal. Still, he took one last chance to hedge, vowing to reconsider his position next week when the matter comes back for a final vote.

Finally, Molinari moved to shift the responsibility for his final action onto Rose — the budget analyst whose firm and unwavering criticism has proven a continued embarrassment to contract supporters. He insisted that the budget analyst appear next week with a firm recommendation — "up or down," as Molinari said — on how the board should vote. Thus far, Rose has only said that he can't recommend approval.

Molinari's attempt to shift the burden to Rose was a fitting conclusion to the entire episode. It showed up the essential problem Molinari — and Walker, and Silver, and Agnos — must now face. The record of independent evidence is crystal clear: The contracts are a bad deal. But the political pressure for approval is intense — so intense that all but two supervisors decided that they would rather face the embarrassment of selling out their constituents than face the threat of

political retaliation from PG&E and its allies. Molinari's transparent attempt to hide behind Rose won't hold up. Neither will Agnos's insistence on taking "no position." After the board approves the contracts one final time, they go to the mayor to be signed into law. Agnos can't pretend to be ignorant of the contract flaws, any more than Molinari, Walker and Silver can. And even more than the progressives on the board, Agnos's political credibility and leadership potential is on the line.

It could well be the most important decision he ever makes as mayor, and it comes at a time when his administration is in serious disarray. Stay tuned — the final chapter is bound to be a thriller.

Blackout watch: The daily press coverage of the contract hearings and the board vote was dismal even by San Francisco JOA standards. The Examiner and Chronicle effectively ignored the entire controversy, publishing no advance stories announcing the hearings and limiting hearing coverage to a couple of mangled paragraphs or nothing at all. Neither paper made even the most token effort to examine the contracts and analyze the costs and benefits to the city.

The Progress, at the urging of its publisher, Bill Rentschler, did far, far better, publishing at least adequate reports of all the hearings and running a major front-page series Feb. 19th in advance of the board vote analyzing both the contracts and the potential for public power in the city.

Clarke

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power production at Hetch Hetchy if PG&E had too much power on hand. "It is bad public policy and opposed to the conservationist intent of Congress (as expressed in the Raker Act) to 'waste' water by curtailing Hetchy's hydro power generations," it states.

The final contract says PG&E can ask the city, after one year, to cut down on power production at Hetch Hetchy after the utility has lowered its fossil fuel generation, but only if the water behind the dam can be conserved. "When you can keep [the water] in the reservoir," Snaider said, "there's no loss of revenue. It's like money in the bank."

Still, Feinstein accepted the basic premise that PG&E could have influence over the city's decisions on water release and power generation.

The memo is the first clear evidence provided to the Bay Guardian and the public of how the city's negotiating position changed between the time Feinstein entered the negotiations in September and the announcement that the final contracts had been agreed upon Dec. 17th. Feinstein apparently made a major concession early on, in her willingness to pay \$6.25 a kilowatt month for capacity reserve. If she was going to do that, the staff then advised her, Feinstein should demand that PG&E meet all of the city's terms on a range of other key points.

But when she met with Clarke in November, Feinstein apparently backed off from that stance, and agreed to accept some — but not all — of the terms her staff had told her to demand.

Moran insists that the altered terms Feinstein accepted will provide the city with equal or better financial returns — that, in other words, she stuck to her guns after making her first round of concessions.

However, the PUC still has not released the documents that would prove or disprove that claim — and even the Board of Supervisors budget analyst, Harvey Rose, has complained that the triumphant claims of the PUC staff have not always stood up to close scrutiny. Until the documents are made public, Feinstein and her staff will be hard pressed to defend what appears to be a consistent pattern of backing down under PG&E pressure and giving away the public treasures, piece by piece.

Far East Follies

Our Hong Kong correspondent catches Feinstein at bat and Caen's candid remarks about SF and its newspapers

By Michael E. Miller

HERB CAEN POPPED out to the Hong Kong pitcher just before Dianne Feinstein rolled up in a chauffeured Mercedes to throw out the first ball. The softball game between the Washington Square Bar & Grill and the Hong Kong Foreign Correspondent's Club was all in a week's work during San Francisco Week in Hong Kong.

For seven days in early February, while Hong Kong highrises were bedecked with colored lights welcoming the highly auspicious Year of the Dragon, the British colony was overrun with visitors from Baghdad by the Bay. Some 200 roving ambassadors, including the entire San Francisco Symphony, left their mark, if not their hearts, on the shores of the South China Sea.

Half-a-dozen street performers, billed as "The Best of the Cannery," offered juggling, puppet shows, music and mime. Carl Payne, the perennial champion cable car bell ringer, tapped out syncopated rhythms on a cable car shipped over for the occasion. (So what if it was a bogus motorized version with rubber tires?)

"It's all in the wrist," Payne said. A stream of visitors climbed aboard to try their hand but found it wasn't as easy as he made it look. Most managed only a dull thud.

The San Francisco Symphony, fresh off the picket line, played four evenings' worth of concerts. An insert in the program apologized that "due to an industrial dispute in San Francisco the Orchestra has announced that it is now unable to perform parts of the advertised programme." The symphony dropped its modern selections and stuck to composers it knew, like Mozart, Strauss and Beethoven.

The sponsors of the extravaganza included the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, United Airlines, Hibernia Bank, American Express, Cathay Pacific Airways, the California Wine Institute, American President Lines (they shipped the ersatz cable car), Supervisor John Molinari (not clear what he did exactly) and of course, the City and County of San Francisco. The Asian Wall Street Journal carried a special 20-page advertising supplement in

honor of the event, with lots of big ads from Hewlett-Packard, the Bank of America, PG&E and the like.

The purpose of the whole exercise seemed to be to underline the economic, cultural and historical ties between San Francisco and Hong Kong, and to return the favor for Hong Kong Week in San Francisco, held in July 1986.

Feinstein started the week off by making a pitch for investment in California at a luncheon of the American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong on Monday. She also assured her audience that they didn't need to worry about American trade protectionism. Referring to the presidential election campaign, she said, "Although it is still early I do not hear much talk by the candidates, with one exception, of protectionism. When the subject is raised, it is discredited by the more responsible majority."

This was only hours before the "one exception," the born-again Far East-basher Richard Gephardt, triumphed in the Democratic Party's Iowa caucuses.

Feinstein failed to show up at a breakfast reception thrown by the Bank of America, provoking the ire of a columnist for the South China Morning Post, who fumed about "those confounded American inventions, the breakfast meeting."

"We gather the poor lady was unwell," wrote columnist Lai See (a pseudonym that means "lucky money" in Cantonese). "Perhaps she doesn't take kindly to breakfast meetings either, or perhaps it was the prospect of her flight to hepatitis-infested Shanghai that gave her a nasty turn."

Shanghai, the Chinese megalopolis 800 miles to the northeast, was in the throes of a hepatitis epidemic, and the place may have been weighing on Feinstein's mind. She reportedly told one of her Hong Kong audiences how glad she was to be "here in Shanghai."

THE ORGANIZERS of San Francisco Week in Hong Kong made much of the similarities between the two cities. Both have spectacular harbors, steep hills, mild climates, lots of Chinese restaurants. They didn't mention that both cities are also victims of highrise mania. In Hong Kong, the new head-

quarters building of the Bank of China, a futuristic, 70-story tower designed by I.M. Pei, is growing daily and will soon be the highest structure in town, dominating the skyline just nine years before its proprietors in Peking are scheduled to dominate Hong Kong.

Nor did they observe that, just as many middle-class families have been squeezed out of San Francisco by economic conditions, many middle-class Hong Kong Chinese are striving to bail out before their neighbors from the north take over in 1997. The Australian and Canadian emigration bureaus are doing a land-office business here these days.

Herb Caen pointed out some of these less-discussed similarities in a luncheon speech at the Foreign Correspondents' Club on Tuesday. "We're overbuilt. You're overbuilt," he said. "We both have sewage disposal problems we don't like to talk about."

Caen said he had come to cover San Francisco Week for the Chronicle. "The Chronicle is the kind of paper that covers all these important things," he said. "We just established our first overseas bureau, in Tokyo." The bureau consists of one reporter, whose assignment is The Pacific.

"Now that we have our own Far East correspondent, I'm proud of our paper," Caen said. "He has to mail his copy in. If he gets a big story he can send it air mail."

"Scoops are not important," he added. "You make enemies. You get it wrong. The Chronicle is a more reflective paper. It's sort of a weekly that comes out daily. It has 600,000 circulation, which just amazes me."

"We have this joint operating agreement," he said. "The money comes in, made by the Chronicle, but the melon

is cut right down the middle. Our editor is starting to think this may have been a mistake."

Caen explained that the Sunday paper was an amalgamation of the Chronicle and Examiner. "It looks like a head-on collision," he said. "It's the ugliest paper in the world. It has pink sections, green sections, 750,000 circulation, and it probably makes lots of money. Tourists come in, buy the paper and go back to the newsstands. 'You gave me half of two papers,' they say."

Caen told the Hong Kong hacks that the Examiner, in contrast to the Chronicle, has all sorts of far-flung correspondents, including three in the Far East and several in Washington.

"At the Chronicle, we take all the right services," he said. "One day the front page was all from the Los Angeles Times. I went to Charles de Young Thieriot and I said, 'This is ridiculous.' He said, 'So? We pay for it. Why shouldn't we run it?'"

Reflecting back on colorful Chronicle characters of the past, Caen recalled legendary editor Scott Newhall, a "crazy man" with a wooden leg, and columnist Warren Hinckle, who wears a black eyepatch, "usually on the same eye."

"When you saw the two of them in the newsroom, they looked like one pirate," Caen said. "Hinckle got us into one libel suit after another, so we let him go to the Examiner."

Caen noted that the Foreign Correspondents' Club appeared to have some real correspondents afoot. "There are actually people taking notes and taping," he said. "The San Francisco Press Club consists entirely of insurance agents. It's falling apart, literally and figuratively. People sit

around reading old newspapers."

The lunch with Herb Caen cost the equivalent of nearly \$10. A club breakfast with former British Prime Minister Edward Heath two days later was only about \$4.

THE HIGH POINT of the week was the Wednesday night softball game, which captured what one TV commentator called "that famous offbeat sense of humor and zaniness the city is famous for."

The Washington Square Bar & Grill softball team, Les Lapins Sauvages, was on hand to square off against a local side composed largely of Brits from the Foreign Correspondents' Club. A few of them had actually played the game before, though by and large they had more experience with cricket.

The Washington Square team had sent the rules in advance: Players should be over 40 and suffer from liver damage. Triple bypass heart surgery was considered a plus. And each side must have two women on the field at all

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GUARDIAN GRAPHIC BY TIM BOWER

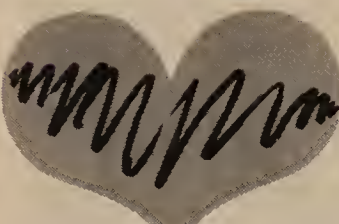
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Ask Isadora

Say what?

By Isadora Alman

Q: I am a gay man who will soon be vacationing at a Club Med resort, mecca of heterosexuals worldwide. (Don't ask why, it's a long story.) Ever the optimist, I am sure there will be romantic opportunities even there if I go about this right. My problem is how do I go about uncovering such opportunities without getting punched in the snoot by some scandalized macho?

A: A dear friend of mine in a similar situation (a scriptwriter, by the way) wrote what I think is a graceful and to-the-point line of dialogue for just such an occasion. "This is difficult to say (boyish grin), but I find myself attracted to you. If that's inappropriate, please take it as a compliment and we'll say no more about it. If not . . . " The ensuing pause is, dare I say it?, "pregnant" with possibilities.

Q: I don't know whether to address this question to you or the guy who writes the veterinary column in the Chronicle. Somehow, I think I'll get a more direct answer from you. My question is: How big is an elephant's penis?

A: I quote from a marvelous book by Robert A. Wallace called *How They Do It* (Morrow & Co., NY, 1980, \$4.95): "about four or five feet long . . . at full erection . . . a peculiar S-shape, and the end swells into an enormous bulb." If that isn't enough to plunk your twanger, read on: "the penis does the positioning. It moves, snakelike, up and down and from side to side, searching for the vaginal opening. When his search has been successful . . . his penis vigorously jerks up and down, probing at the vagina again and again until it enters her." Throughout all this, I presume the male elephant is still attached to — if not in control of — this amazing appendage!

Q: Hey, Isadora. What is "nipple torture"? I read it in a personal ad, but not in the Bay Guardian.

A: It is just what it sounds like to those who wouldn't care for it. But since the nipple owner not only

desires but requests such extreme stimulation as biting, clamping and pinching (in this case, in print, even!), I don't think "torture" is the best choice of words. "Consensual torture" is a self-canceling phrase — like "military intelligence."

Q: The whole Valentine's Day nonsense is over, praise be. It's a horrible time of the year for me. I'm a single woman with no Someone Special in my life except myself. That's just fine with me, but it doesn't seem to be with the rest of the world. I want neither sympathy nor other people's remedies for my situation.

A: My dear, your situation has my sympathy (no, *not* your status as a single woman), but what can I do about it? Would that I could eradicate with my crusading word processor the Noah's Ark Syndrome along with a few dozen other "musts" of our screwy society. I do my best. Next year, may I suggest taking to your bed between February 13th and 15th with a good book, a trusty vibrator and some self-bought bonbons. (And if you can think of some way to avoid the whole month of June, let me know.)

Q: Regarding the lead letter in issue #17 (Bay Guardian, 2/10/88), the woman who wanted sex without preliminaries: I wonder if the lady has tried making use of the erections which her lover probably has during his REM sleep. Before I learned of normal erections during REM sleep I heard a man tell of waking from an erotic dream and finding his wife impaled on his penis and nearing her orgasm. I could not imagine me (or him) being able to sleep through the exquisite sensation accompanying insertion, but perhaps that sensation served to direct or modify the path his dream took. Wild guess/hope: Maybe the dreaming could fool his psyche into believing that the "preliminaries" were already over. That way he could proceed or continue since she had already taken the initiative with his REM sleep-induced erection.

A: I'll give your suggestion some thought, dear reader. Let's sleep on it. ■

Bay Area sex educator and communication consultant Isadora Alman, the author of *Aural Sex & Verbal Intercourse*, will answer reader queries in this regular column in *City Limits*. Send your questions to her, c/o San Francisco Bay Guardian, 2700 19th St., SF 94110.

Follies

continued from previous page

times.

The games took place on one of Hong Kong's few level open spaces big enough to hold a softball diamond, at the Ministry of Defense sports field, within long-ball distance of Kai Tak International Airport. The jumbo jets looked as if they might land on second base. The weather was unusually cold, too. All in all it was a lot like Candlestick Park.

Dianne Feinstein was supposed to throw out the first ball, but she didn't arrive until the Hong Kong pitcher had managed to retire three San Francisco batters, including the luckless Caen. So the game was halted in the middle of the first inning to allow Feinstein to throw out an honorary first ball for the benefit of photographers.

Feinstein's husband, Dick Blum, held her purse on the sidelines while Dianne made the rounds. Told that he

had just missed seeing Herb Caen's fly ball to the pitcher, he muttered, "Too bad there wasn't a bean ball in there."

In the fourth inning, San Francisco manager and pitcher Ed Moose put Feinstein in as a designated hitter. The ex-mayor, sporting a red and white Lapins jersey, dribbled a ground ball to the pitcher, who flipped it to the first baseman, who accidentally on purpose flubbed the catch. The next batter hit the ball deep into center field. The outfielder threw to third as Feinstein was coming around second. The home plate umpire declared her safe at third base, even though she arrived some time after the ball. But then she scored legitimately on a base hit.

"I don't know," she said afterward. "I thought I was out at third." But neither team would hear of such a thing. So Feinstein, batting 1.000, climbed back into the Mercedes with Blum and drove off.

Herb Caen, playing first base,

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Lions and dragons and drums: The Year of the Dragon comes in with a bang.

The intricate art of lion dancing

By Stephen Hufstader

AS EVERYONE who has heard the popping of the firecrackers knows, the Bay Area's Chinese communities are in the midst of New Year's revelry, welcoming in the Year of the Dragon. The capping event of the celebration in San Francisco is the parade that takes place Saturday evening, Feb. 27th when everyone will be on the streets to welcome the new year in a final blowout of color and noise. If you're one of the lucky ones who manages to get close enough to the parade to see, you'll notice that mixed in with the usual assortment of waving dignitaries in convertibles, baton twirlers and other parade accoutrements are a number of people running, dodging, weaving and dancing under brightly decorated costumes that have a fierce mask on one end and a tail on the other.

These costumed dancers fall into two categories, dragons and lions, though many people mistake the lions for smaller dragons. The lions are always manned by two people, while the dragons are up to 150 feet long and have as many as 50 people inside. Unlike the dragons, which basically snake back and forth adding color to the parade, lion dancers perform a difficult style of dance with a unique history.

The origins of lion dancing are somewhat obscure, and especially so as there are no actual lions in China. It's thought that descriptions of lions came to China from India by way of Buddhist monks. As with most folklore, there are different versions of the same story — in this case, all centering around ideas of the lion as a protector or bringer of good luck. In one of the most popular versions of the story, a village was under attack by a wild beast. Having heard of lions, but never having seen one, the villagers decided to use a representation of this fierce animal to protect themselves — sort of an animate scarecrow against marauding beasts. Martial arts experts were

chosen for the task of mimicking the lion because they were already trained to act aggressively, and because their moves often copy the movement of animals. Martial arts schools (and especially the southern-style Kung Fu schools) have carried on the tradition to this day, and the lions in Saturday's parade each represent a school.

In this "village-protection" version of the story, the ruckus from firecrackers, drums and cymbals that's such a noticeable part of the parade plays an important role. Evil spirits were thought to live in silence and darkness, so the flash and bang of the firecrackers and the thumping and swishing of the drums and cymbals are meant to scare them away — not to mention the effect the cacophony has in livening up the parade.

Another version of the story claims that the emperor Quian Long had a dream of a strange beast that kept getting bigger and bigger. Because China was then rapidly expanding, the animal the emperor had seen was thought to be a symbol of good luck, and lion dancing thus celebrates good fortune.

Besides performing in the Chinese New Year's parade, lion dancers are frequently hired for the openings of businesses, especially banks and restaurants. The dancers from one San Francisco martial arts school, the Choy Lay Fut Kung Fu Institute, have performed at weddings, birthday parties, Bar Mitzvahs and even a Grateful Dead concert. In Hong Kong, a contest is held each year in which lion dancers from all over Southeast Asia compete. This June 25th, the U.S. will hold its first national lion dancing tournament to select a team for the Hong Kong competition.

Lion dancers train all year to perfect the techniques of this difficult art, which requires both strength and agility. The person holding the lion's head needs upper body strength — the headpiece, made of rattan and papier mache, can weigh from ten to 15 pounds. This dancer also needs coordination to operate the eyes and mouth

in a lifelike way. All of the lion's facial expressions are created by the head dancer through the opening and closing of the mouth and with a string that controls the lion's eyelids. Nonetheless, a skilled team can manipulate their costume to give the lion an amazing range of moods, from sleepiness to ferocity.

Both of the dancers in the costume must coordinate their movements or the effect won't be convincing. Being the tail of the lion is back-breaking work and is usually the less-sought-after position. Watch the footwork of the dancers in the parade: If the team is good, you'll be able to see that they're as closely synchronized as a well-matched pair of figure skaters.

In order to be a convincing lion dancer, it's necessary to be able to think like an animal. The basic movements of the lion are walking, sleeping, cleaning, jumping, eating and bowing, but the dancers have considerable room to improvise, and they also combine these techniques in choreographed sequences. One typical sequence involves the lion going into a "cave," symbolized by two upright spears, then lying down to lick its fur and going to sleep. The drums and cymbals follow the movements of the lion closely throughout the dance, so as he falls asleep they become very soft, then suddenly erupt with a great thumping and clattering as something startles the lion to alertness, its head weaving and eyelids fluttering in surprise.

Another characteristic behavior of the dancing lion is munching on a head of lettuce that's either hung from a doorway or fed to it by hand. The lettuce symbolizes a mushroom that brings long life, but the lion has to spit out the dirt clinging to the mushroom, so you'll see him spitting and sending lettuce flying in all directions. Usually the lettuce has a small red envelope attached, which contains "lai see" or "lucky money." The front dancer must grab enough lettuce to spit three times while simultaneously stuffing the lai see down his shirt, maintaining control of the head and making sure that he's not visible to the crowd (allowing the crowd to see the person in the costume is a sign of a sloppy team) — all with firecrackers going off in his ears and assorted other instruments creating general pandemonium. If you're fortunate enough to get a spot near the reviewing stand, you'll also see the lion go up and bow three times to the people there, then back away facing them (it's considered rude to turn your back when leaving). The more gymnastic moves performed by the lion include rearing up (the lead person stands on the thighs of the tail person), and rolling on the ground like a dog trying to scratch its back. This last maneuver, while entertaining, is rough on the expensive costumes.

THERE ARE SEVERAL different types of lion dancing costumes, most of which are made in Hong Kong. Depending on how elaborate it is, a costume can cost anywhere from \$600-\$1,200. The golden lion costumes tend to be the most expensive because they cover the whole body. The fancier varieties are made with silk and rabbit fur. There's also a difference in costuming styles between lions from southern and northern China. The northern lion costumes, frequently worn by acrobats or operatic actors, have full-body costumes and shorter tails; they're also friendlier-looking and more clownish. In contrast, the southern lions are fiercer and more energetic with longer, more colorful tails, and are almost always worn by martial arts practitioners. Most of the lions in the San Francisco parade are of the southern variety, although a few combine the

continued page 19



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COMMENTS

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—S.F. Focus, April '87

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Eating Out, SF Chronicle
June 21, 1985

"Mergues, a spicy Tunisian Lamb sausage one of my best meals ever!"
Serena Jukovitz, SF Restaurants

"For a budget dinner, an inexpensive establishment that serves a generous savory feast, the masterpiece is couscous, with great mergues and breek."

California Living
SF Sunday Examiner, June 9, 1985

"Cafe Gitanes serves up freshly prepared, modest-priced African dishes for expatriates as well as new devotees of this addictive cuisine."

S.F. Bay Guardian, Sept. 17-24, 1986
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S.F. Focus, August 1987

Restaurants



Waitress Firouzeh Rosendahl presides over a Persian feast at Maykadeh.

Maykadeh's aromatic cuisine

By Michele Anderson

MAYKADEHS, the Persian houses of wine, have nourished the imaginations of generations of Persian artists and poets with wines and exotic, saffron-scented appetizers. It was at a maykadeh that Omar Khayyam composed chapters of The Rubaiyat, his epic poem celebrating love and wine. At North Beach's Maykadeh, a Persian restaurant sharing a stretch of Green Street with a clutch of Italian restaurants, the subtle and aromatic food might not guarantee poetic inspiration, but it will, at minimum, inspire satisfied sighs from diners who value rich, complexly seasoned meat stews, cool, tart yogurts

textured with vegetables and mesquite-grilled kababs.

At Maykadeh, well-balanced doses of aromatic, often exotic, herbs and spices rescue this meat-laden and butter-rich fare from unbearable heaviness. Saffron, turmeric, fenugreek, cardamom, cloves, barberry (a sour spice) and sumak (a woody-tasting, coarse russet powder sprinkled like pepper over rice), are a few of the spices in the palette of aromatics used in the Persian kitchen. Also intriguing is the floral nuance of rosewater, which here haunts the rich, creamy texture of bastani (\$3.50), a pale pink ice cream chunky with small cubes of frozen cream.

Adding to the complexity of flavor is the slow-cooking of stews and long marinating of grilled meats, both techniques that infuse every bite with a subtle spice bouquet. Basmati rice stands by at every meal to soak up the rich sauces and meat juices. A special treat, available by request, is tah dig, rice browned in butter until crisp, then peeled in sheets from the bottom of the rice cooker and broken up like crackers to sop up every last drop of sauce. If the richness of this cuisine still proves daunting, cool yogurt dishes, such as mast-o-musir (yogurt with shallots; \$2.50) will offer relief.

Maykadeh provides a relaxed and elegant setting for its diners, many of whom are members of the local Iranian community. Paintings of scenes from The Rubaiyat, full of gold, red and green brush strokes, invigorate the pale rose and brown dining room with dashes of warm color. The tables are set far apart from one another so that chatter from the other tables is almost inaudible, and any stray noises seem to evaporate into the strains of Persian music that float softly through the spacious room. The prompt and courteous service staff, always within easy hailing distance of the tables, has a knack for anticipating diners' requests.

The menu, written in both English and Farsi, is almost evenly divided between moderately priced appetizers and entrees. All meals at Maykadeh start on a light note. As soon as you take your seat, a complimentary appetizer of sabzee is brought to your table along with warm triangles of pita bread wrapped in white cloth napkins. A fragrant assemblage of fresh mint and basil leaves, Bulgarian feta cheese cubes, scallion stalks and an onion wedge, sabzee primes your palate for the heavier appetizers and entrees to follow.

A winner of an appetizer is the kashke bademjan (\$4.95), a warm, buttery mash of eggplant seasoned with garlic, mint and a whisper of saffron. For more adventurous palates, a nicely grilled lamb brain (\$5) is a good choice: Crisp on the outside and firm, almost custard-like on the inside, it takes its flavor from a rich saffron butter sauce.

There are five types of kabab entree, all grilled over mesquite: spiced patties of ground lamb and beef, filet mignon slices, chicken, lamb loin chops and prawn (\$5.95-\$10.75; price varies for the prawn). The kitchen prefers to grill meat until well done, which makes the filet mignon strips in the chilo-kabab soltani (\$9.95) a bit dry for some tastes. But it didn't detract from the appeal of the kabab bare (\$10.75), a kabab of tender and juicy, albeit well-done, lamb loin chops crusted with minced garlic and mint. Pita bread acted as a blotter for their fragrant juices.

Khoresht bademjan (\$8.50), a tender lamb shank stewed with eggplant, braised in saffron butter and submerged in a tomato sauce aromatic with herbs, spices and limes had a richness that comes from long, slow cooking. An entree served only on Thursday and not to be missed is khoresh fesen joon (\$9.75). This is a portion of duck braised until tender and then smothered with a dark, rich sauce heavy with pulverized walnuts and tart pomegranate juice toned down with a touch of sugar.

Graceful minarets, courtly poems and exquisite embroidered carpets are the standard images we have of Persian culture. Now we can add to these images of grace and elegance the rich, aromatic cuisine served at Maykadeh. ■

MAYKADEH, 470 Green, SF, 362-8286. Daily, noon-11 pm. Visa, MasterCard, American Express. Reservations recommended. Wheelchair accessible. Non-smoking section.



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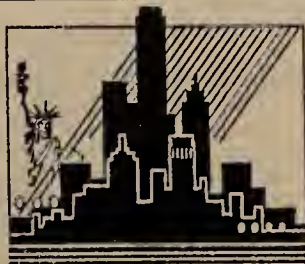


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Superlist N° 376 Free tax help in San Francisco

It's that time of year again, so grab your pencil and calculator and be prepared for some of the most complicated tax forms ever. Not all of us are mathematical wizards, or can afford to hire an accountant to do the work. Fortunately, there are several locations in the Bay Area that offer free tax assistance. Where indicated, these programs are restricted to seniors, people with low incomes, recent immigrants or the disabled. Multilingual assistance is available where noted. Appointments are required where noted, but even if you're visiting a drop-in center, it's wise to call ahead to assure your eligibility and the availability of space, especially as the April 15th deadline gets closer. Most assistance sessions last an hour, and you should be prepared for a lengthy pre-session wait if you're visiting a drop-in center.

The free tax programs are brought to you by a host of people, many of whom are volunteers. Some have been trained by the Internal Revenue Service, such as the volunteers through the American Association of Retired Persons who are providing services throughout the Bay Area. Tax-Aid, a service provided by volunteer lawyers and accountants, also has several San Francisco locations. In order to avoid making more than one trip, the tax experts suggest you bring along the following: last year's income tax returns; 1987 wage, pension and interest statements; social security numbers for all family members; landlord's name, address and phone number (for renter's credit) and any state or federal tax forms you may have received in the mail. Also bring along any medical bills and receipts for charitable or political donations or mortgage payments.

If you require further assistance, or would like general information, you can call the Internal Revenue service at (800) 424-1040 or (415) 839-1040. If the area you live in isn't covered below, call the Franchise Tax Board at (800) 852-7050 for a list of assistance programs in your area. In addition, the Senior Information and Referral Center (626-1033) will help

senior citizens find the tax help location closest to them. The center is open Monday through Friday, from 8 am to 5 pm, and offers assistance in Chinese, Spanish and Tagalog, as well as English.

Look for a list of free tax help locations in the East Bay and Marin in an upcoming superlist.

San Francisco

Bayview Multipurpose Center For seniors and people with low incomes; by appointment only. Mon., 10 am-2 pm. 1706 Yosemite, 822-1444.

Buchanan YMCA Branch By appointment only. Call for specific days and times. 1530 Buchanan, 931-9622.

Center for Southeast Asian Refugees By appointment only. Vietnamese, Chinese, Cambodian, Laotian. Mon., Wed., Fri., 10 am-noon and 2-4 pm. 875 O'Farrell, 885-2743.

Centro Latino Renter's credit assistance only; by appointment only. Spanish. Mon.-Fri., 9 am-5 pm. 180 Fair Oaks, 826-1647.

Charity Cultural Center For seniors and low-income Asian newcomers; by appointment only. Cantonese, Mandarin. Tues. and Thurs., 10 am-2 pm. 827 Stockton, 989-8224.

Downtown Senior Center For seniors; by appointment only. Tues., 9:15 am-12:15 pm. 481 O'Farrell, 771-7950.

Filipino American Council For seniors; by appointment only. Tagalog. Mon.-Fri., 9 am-2 pm. 481 O'Farrell, 626-0773.

First Congregational Church For seniors; by appointment only. Chinese, Tagalog. Mon., 9 am-1 pm. 432 Mason, 392-7463.

Golden Gate Park Senior Center For seniors. Mon., 10 am-2 pm. 6101 Fulton, 751-4926.

Haight Ashbury Senior Center For seniors and disabled; by appointment only. Chinese, Spanish, Tagalog. Mon., 9:30 am-12:30 pm. 1350 Waller, 621-1112.

Hastings College of the Law Sat., 10 am-4 pm. 198 McAllister, 565-4601.

La Raza Information Center For seniors and people with low incomes. Spanish. Sat., 10 am-4 pm. 3174 24th St., 826-5855.

Manilatown Senior Center For seniors; renter's credit assistance only. Tagalog. Mon.-Fri., 10:30 am-2 pm. 650 Commercial, 982-3398.

Mission YMCA For seniors; by appointment only. Wed., 9 am-noon. 4080 Mission, 586-6900.

Montefiore Senior Center For seniors; by appointment only. Mon., 9 am-noon. 3200 California, 346-6040.

Norlega Senior Services Center For seniors; by appointment only. Mon. and Wed., 9-11 am. 1819 43rd Ave., 665-6844.

Ortega Branch Library For seniors. Thurs., 10 am-2 pm. 3223 Ortega, 681-1848.

Parkmerced Residential Center For seniors; by appointment only. Mon., Wed., Fri., 10 am-1 pm. 100 Font, 334-0106.

Retired Senior Volunteer Program For seniors; by appointment only. Wed. and Fri., 1-3 pm. 1125 Quintara, 731-3335.

Richmond YMCA For seniors; by appointment only. Tues., 9:30 am-1:30 pm. 360 18th Ave., 668-2060.

San Francisco Seniors Center For seniors; by appointment only. Tues., 9:30 am-1 pm. 890 Beach, 775-1866.

San Francisco State University Mon.-Fri. 10 am-6 pm. 1600 Holloway, Student Union Building, B-119, 338-1595.

Self-Help for the Elderly For seniors; renter's credit assistance only. Chinese. Mon.-Fri., 8:30 am-5 pm. 640 Pine, 982-9171.

Senior Escort Program For seniors; renter's credit assistance only. Chinese available by appointment only. Mon.-Fri., 9 am-1 pm. 330 Ellis, room 518, 673-8600.

Spring Garden For seniors; by appointment only. Wed., 10 am-2 pm. 70 Oak, 552-5545.

Stonestown YMCA For seniors; by appointment only. Tues. and Thurs., 1-4 pm. 333 Eucalyptus, 759-9622.

Tax-Aid For seniors and people with low incomes. Information: 434-5533. The following locations are scheduled: Mission Community College, Mon., 7:30-9:30 pm, 106 Bartlett, main floor cafeteria. Chinatown Library, Tues., 6-8 pm, 1135 Powell. Glide Memorial Church, Wed., 6:30-8:30 pm, 330 Ellis, room 101. Mission YMCA, Wed., 6-8 pm, 4080 Mission. University of SF, Thurs., 6:30-8:30 pm, University Center Building, room 413.

Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Center By appointment only. Chinese. Mon., 10 am-2 pm. 660 Lombard, 421-6443.

United Savings Bank For people with low incomes; by appointment only. Chinese. Sat., 9 am-2 pm. 1066 Grant, 391-1450.

Western Addition Senior Center For seniors; by appointment only. Wed., 9:30 am-1 pm; Fri., 9:30 am-12:30 pm. 1390 1/2 Turk, 921-7805.

—Kim Irving

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6. Limit five entries per person
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Follies

continued from page 16

distinguished himself in the field by grabbing a line-drive hit by a left-handed batter. He did less well at the plate, grounding to first and hitting into a fielder's choice. He spent the second half of the game in the grandstand.

The final score: San Francisco 32, Hong Kong 5, more or less. The official scorekeeper had already given up in exasperation, as batters refused to step to the plate in the correct order.

"All right, you guys just do what you want," she yelled.

Some of the plays were admittedly difficult to record. Such as the one when a San Francisco runner standing on second base fielded a ground ball hit by his teammate and threw it to first. Or the time a San Francisco batter pulled on a green and white Hong Kong jersey, stuffed it with makeshift breasts, stuck some leafy branches under his helmet to resemble long hair, laid down a bunt for Hong Kong, ran it

out to first base, then leaped over the fence behind first base and disappeared.

All in all, the visitors from San Francisco seemed to enjoy themselves. The few Hong Kong natives who noticed them seemed vaguely amused. And Carl Payne, the champion gripman, summed up his stay this way: "I can't complain. I could be home working."

Michael Miller became intimately familiar with highrises, joint operating agreements, Dianne Feinstein, Herb Caen and San Francisco Chronicle softball journalism during a six-year stint as Bay Guardian copy editor and managing editor, from 1974 to 1980. He is now a foreign correspondent based in Hong Kong.

Lion dancing

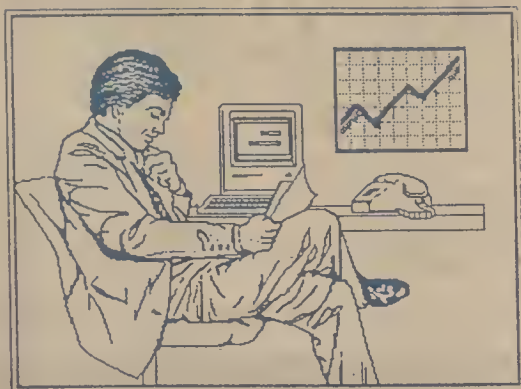
continued from page 17

fierce southern head with the full-bodied northern costume. The San Francisco lions each have a mirror in

the center of their forehead to scare away evil spirits with their own reflections.

According to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, more than 12 martial arts schools are participating in this year's parade. With one to three lions per school, they'll be a colorful part of an event which, like the lion in Quian Long's dream, gets bigger and bigger every year. The parade's lion dancers range widely in ages, from children to senior citizens. Of the four lions in the Choy Lay Fut group, two will be "little lions" with children dancing inside. Although less expert than the older lions, the little ones have a spirit all their own.

San Francisco's Chinese New Year's parade begins at 6 pm on Sat., Feb. 27th, at the intersection of Market and Second St. From there it proceeds down Market to Stockton, up Stockton to Post, down Post to Kearny, then down Kearny to Columbus and Pacific, where it ends at the reviewing stand.



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Follow these instructions:

Answer each question as to how you feel

RIGHT NOW.

+ M -

START HERE:

- ☐ ☐ ☐ Means yes or mostly yes
☐ ☐ ☐ Means maybe or uncertain
☐ ☒ ☐ Indicates no or mostly no

+ M -

- ☐ ☐ ☐ 1. Do you make thoughtless remarks or accusations which you later regret?
☐ ☐ ☐ 2. Is it hard on you when you fail?
☐ ☐ ☐ 3. When others are getting rattled do you remain fairly composed?
☐ ☐ ☐ 4. Do you find yourself being extra active for periods lasting several days?
☐ ☐ ☐ 5. Do you browse through railway timetables, directories or dictionaries just for pleasure?
☐ ☐ ☐ 6. Do you resent the efforts of others to tell you what to do?
☐ ☐ ☐ 7. When asked to make a decision would you be swayed by your like or dislike of the personality involved?
☐ ☐ ☐ 8. Is it normally hard for you to "own up and take the blame"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 9. Do you intend two or less children in your family even though your health and income will permit more?
☐ ☐ ☐ 10. Do you have a small circle of close friends rather than a large number of friends and speaking acquaintances?
☐ ☐ ☐ 11. Are your actions considered unpredictable by others?
☐ ☐ ☐ 12. Do you often sing or whistle just for the fun of it?
☐ ☐ ☐ 13. Do you get occasional twitches of your muscles when there is no logical reason for it?
☐ ☐ ☐ 14. Does "everything" seem glorious to you even though you are aware of some things that should be changed?
☐ ☐ ☐ 15. Would you prefer to be in a position where you did not have the responsibilities of making decisions?
☐ ☐ ☐ 16. Would you rather give orders than take them?
☐ ☐ ☐ 17. Do the affairs of other people interest you very much?
☐ ☐ ☐ 18. Do you put quite a few depreciations of others into your conversation?
☐ ☐ ☐ 19. Do you consider too much money is being spent on social security?
☐ ☐ ☐ 20. Are you considered warm-hearted by your friends?
☐ ☐ ☐ 21. Do you act impulsively rather than deliberately?
☐ ☐ ☐ 22. Do you make efforts to get others to laugh or smile?
☐ ☐ ☐ 23. Is your voice quite varied rather than calm?
☐ ☐ ☐ 24. Can your world "cease in on you" without your being upset?
☐ ☐ ☐ 25. Do you say little except in response?
☐ ☐ ☐ 26. Are you strict in the matter of discipline rather than being easy going?
☐ ☐ ☐ 27. Are you readily interested in other people's conversation?
☐ ☐ ☐ 28. Do you refrain from complaining when the other person is late for an appointment?
☐ ☐ ☐ 29. When hunting or fishing do you feel concern for the pain you inflict on game, live bait or fish?
☐ ☐ ☐ 30. Do you find it easy to express your emotions?
☐ ☐ ☐ 31. Are you generally careless of accepted rules for protecting your health?
☐ ☐ ☐ 32. Are you sometimes considered by others a "spoiled sport" or "wet blanket"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 33. When unexpected things happen do some of your muscles have jerking motions?
☐ ☐ ☐ 34. Are you constantly happy even though there is no real reason for it?
☐ ☐ ☐ 35. Do you speak slowly?
☐ ☐ ☐ 36. Would you admit you were wrong just to keep the peace?
☐ ☐ ☐ 37. Do you give a judgment only after looking at the pros and cons?
☐ ☐ ☐ 38. Do you consider there are other people who are definitely unfriendly towards you & work against you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 39. Are you normally considerate in your demands on your employees, relatives and friends?
☐ ☐ ☐ 40. Do you have only a few people of whom you are really fond?
☐ ☐ ☐ 41. Do you take reasonable precautions to prevent accidents?
☐ ☐ ☐ 42. Do you speedily recover from the effects of bad news?
☐ ☐ ☐ 43. Does the idea of talking in front of people make you nervous?
☐ ☐ ☐ 44. Do you ever get a "dreamlike" feeling towards life when it all seems unreal?
☐ ☐ ☐ 45. Do you "circulate around" at a social gathering?
☐ ☐ ☐ 46. Do you often keep your opinions to yourself because they do not seem important enough to tell others?
☐ ☐ ☐ 47. Do you sometimes think others are looking at you or talking about you, when they are really not doing so?
☐ ☐ ☐ 48. When you criticize, do you at the same time try to encourage?
☐ ☐ ☐ 49. If you saw an article in a shop which was obviously mistakenly marked lower than its correct price, would you try to get it at that price?
☐ ☐ ☐ 50. Do some people consider you to be cheerful?
☐ ☐ ☐ 51. Do you get into trouble occasionally?
☐ ☐ ☐ 52. Does life seem worthwhile?
☐ ☐ ☐ 53. Do you have a particular hate or fear?
☐ ☐ ☐ 54. Do you spontaneously give things away even though you have a use for them?
☐ ☐ ☐ 55. Do you prefer to be an onlooker rather than participate in any active sport?
☐ ☐ ☐ 56. Are you so sure of yourself that you sometimes annoy others?
☐ ☐ ☐ 57. Do you find it easy to be impartial?
☐ ☐ ☐ 58. Do you completely condemn a person because he is a rival or opponent in some aspect of your relations to him?
☐ ☐ ☐ 59. Have you a definitely set standard of courteous behavior in front of other members of your family?
☐ ☐ ☐ 60. Does emotional music have quite an effect on you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 61. Would you "buy on credit" with the hope that you can keep up payments?
☐ ☐ ☐ 62. Do you often "sit and think" about death, sickness, pain and sorrow?
☐ ☐ ☐ 63. Do you remain upset for some time following an accident or other disturbing incident?
☐ ☐ ☐ 64. Do you hold onto things for which you have no real use?
☐ ☐ ☐ 65. Can you "start the ball rolling" at a social gathering?
☐ ☐ ☐ 66. Are you rather indifferent to maintaining the dignity of your job or place in life?
☐ ☐ ☐ 67. When hearing a lecturer, do you sometimes experience the idea that the speaker is referring entirely to you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 68. Do you give much time in your conversation to the criticism of people and things?
☐ ☐ ☐ 69. Do you consider the good of all concerned rather than your own personal advantages?
☐ ☐ ☐ 70. Are you openly appreciative of beautiful things?
☐ ☐ ☐ 71. Do you make plans well in advance of an event and then carry them out?
☐ ☐ ☐ 72. Do you often ponder on past misfortunes?
☐ ☐ ☐ 73. Does "external noise" rarely interfere with your concentration?
☐ ☐ ☐ 74. Do you sometimes give away articles which, strictly speaking, do not belong to you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 75. Do you pay less attention to things going on around you than most people?
☐ ☐ ☐ 76. Are you sometimes considered overbearing?

Name _____

Phone _____

Bus. Phone _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Age _____

Occupation _____

Date _____

Sex _____

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- ☐ ☐ ☐ 77. Are you inclined to be jealous?
☐ ☐ ☐ 78. Do you accept criticism easily without resentment?
☐ ☐ ☐ 79. Do you consider the modern prisons without bars system "doomed to failure"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 80. Do you greet people cordially?
☐ ☐ ☐ 81. Do you tend to put off doing things and then discover that it is too late?
☐ ☐ ☐ 82. Does the youth of today have more opportunity than that of a generation ago?
☐ ☐ ☐ 83. Are you usually undisturbed by "noises off" when you are trying to rest?
☐ ☐ ☐ 84. Do you throw things away only to discover that you need them later?
☐ ☐ ☐ 85. Is it easy for you to get yourself started?
☐ ☐ ☐ 86. Would you give up easily on a given course if it were causing you a considerable amount of inconvenience?
☐ ☐ ☐ 87. Are there some things about yourself on which you are touchy?
☐ ☐ ☐ 88. Do you rarely suspect the actions of others?
☐ ☐ ☐ 89. When you see someone in pain are you sympathetic enough as to want to do something about it?
☐ ☐ ☐ 90. Do you live the kind of life where you have only a few expressions of enthusiasm?
☐ ☐ ☐ 91. Do you break out in more explosive words or actions than would be expected from the cause?
☐ ☐ ☐ 92. Do you sometimes wonder if anyone really cares about you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 93. Do you bite your fingernails or chew objects?
☐ ☐ ☐ 94. Do you sometimes feel compelled to repeat some interesting item or habit?
☐ ☐ ☐ 95. Are your interests and activities modified somewhat by someone else's?
☐ ☐ ☐ 96. Do you turn down responsibility because you doubt your fitness to cope?
☐ ☐ ☐ 97. Are you prejudiced in favor of your own school, college, or club?
☐ ☐ ☐ 98. If you have a disagreement, do you think as well of the person afterwards?
☐ ☐ ☐ 99. If you were invading another country, would you feel sympathetic towards conscientious objectors in this country?
☐ ☐ ☐ 100. Is your facial expression varied rather than set?
☐ ☐ ☐ 101. Can you be a stabilizing influence when others get panicky?
☐ ☐ ☐ 102. Would it take a definite effort on your part to consider the subject of suicide?
☐ ☐ ☐ 103. Do you ever get a single thought which hangs around for days?
☐ ☐ ☐ 104. When you have an opinion can you simply state it without outlining how you arrived at it?
☐ ☐ ☐ 105. Are you a slow eater?
☐ ☐ ☐ 106. Would you consider yourself energetic in your attitude towards life?
☐ ☐ ☐ 107. Are you scientific in your thinking?
☐ ☐ ☐ 108. Is it hard to please you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 109. Would you stop and find out whether a person needed help even though they had not directly asked for it?
☐ ☐ ☐ 110. When passing a beautiful child do you avoid showing interest rather than looking and smiling?
☐ ☐ ☐ 111. Do you pay your debts and keep your promises when it is possible?
☐ ☐ ☐ 112. Does a minor failure on your part rarely trouble you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 113. Do you sleep well?
☐ ☐ ☐ 114. Do you sometimes feel you talk too much?
☐ ☐ ☐ 115. Do you prefer to take a passive role in any club or organization to which you belong?
☐ ☐ ☐ 116. Do you seek to have your own way rather than being likely to give in to the wishes of others?
☐ ☐ ☐ 117. Is your opinion influenced by looking at things from the standpoint of your education, experience or occupation?
☐ ☐ ☐ 118. Do you usually criticize a film or show that you see or a book that you read?
☐ ☐ ☐ 119. Would you use corporal punishment on a child aged 10 if it refused to obey you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 120. Do you smile much?
☐ ☐ ☐ 121. Do you often make tactless blunders?
☐ ☐ ☐ 122. Do you remember illness or pain for some time?
☐ ☐ ☐ 123. Do you ever get disturbed by the noise of the wind or a "house settling down"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 124. Do you get very ill at ease in disordered surroundings?
☐ ☐ ☐ 125. Provided the distance was not too great, would you still prefer to ride than walk?
☐ ☐ ☐ 126. Do you try to convert others to your ideas about several subjects on which you are not an expert?
☐ ☐ ☐ 127. Are personal interests unable to sway you from sound decisions?
☐ ☐ ☐ 128. Do you get frustrated at not being able to do something, rather than finding a substitute activity or system?
☐ ☐ ☐ 129. Have you made more than one loan which you were persuaded to do against your wishes and were never repaid?
☐ ☐ ☐ 130. When recounting some amusing incident, can you easily imitate the mannerisms or the dialect in the original incident?
☐ ☐ ☐ 131. Do you frequently take actions, even though you know your own good judgment would indicate otherwise?
☐ ☐ ☐ 132. Do you often feel depressed?
☐ ☐ ☐ 133. Are you aware of any habitual physical mannerisms such as pulling your hair, nose, ears and such like?
☐ ☐ ☐ 134. Does disorder bother you so much that you feel you must take immediate and drastic action against it?
☐ ☐ ☐ 135. Do you sometimes get quite exhilarated?
☐ ☐ ☐ 136. Can you accept defeat easily without the necessity of "swallowing your disappointment"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 137. Can you see things from someone else's point of view when you wish to?
☐ ☐ ☐ 138. Do you rarely express your grievances?
☐ ☐ ☐ 139. Are you in favor of color bar and class distinction?
☐ ☐ ☐ 140. Would you rather be with adults all the time rather than with children part of the time?
☐ ☐ ☐ 141. Can you quickly adapt to new conditions and situations even though they may be difficult?
☐ ☐ ☐ 142. Are you sometimes completely unable to enter the spirit of things?
☐ ☐ ☐ 143. Do some noises "set your teeth on edge"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 144. Do you work in "spurts," being relatively inactive and then furiously active for a day or two?
☐ ☐ ☐ 145. Do you frequently stay up late?
☐ ☐ ☐ 146. Does the number of incomplete jobs you have on hand bother you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 147. When voting, do you study the candidates and issues, rather than voting the same party straight?

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- ☐ ☐ ☐ 148. Do you consider the best points of most people and only rarely speak slightly of them?
☐ ☐ ☐ 149. Do the "petty foibles" of others make you impatient?
☐ ☐ ☐ 150. Do people enjoy being in your company?
☐ ☐ ☐ 151. Do you usually carry out assignments promptly and systematically?
☐ ☐ ☐ 152. Do you laugh or smile quite readily?
☐ ☐ ☐ 153. Do children irritate you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 154. Can you quietly watch another work, without feeling you must insist on helping when they indicate they would rather do it themselves?
☐ ☐ ☐ 155. Are you less talkative than your associates?
☐ ☐ ☐ 156. Are you definite and emphatic in voice and manner?
☐ ☐ ☐ 157. Do you place too high an importance on your own interests and fields of knowledge in comparison to others?
☐ ☐ ☐ 158. Do you suspect someone does not like you and criticizes you to others?
☐ ☐ ☐ 159. Would you assist a fellow traveller rather than leave it to the officials?
☐ ☐ ☐ 160. Are you cordial only to close friends, if at all?
☐ ☐ ☐ 161. Do you quickly return to normal rather than being disturbed for a while after seeing a tragic movie or play?
☐ ☐ ☐ 162. Does some inferiority make you feel sad?
☐ ☐ ☐ 163. Is it easy for you to relax?
☐ ☐ ☐ 164. When you "really want to do something," do you feel your desires are paramount to all opposition?
☐ ☐ ☐ 165. Do you attempt to "start things in your area"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 166. Do you feel strongly convinced of the correctness of your opinions when in a controversy, excluding those subjects about which you are an expert?
☐ ☐ ☐ 167. Do you find it annoying to have any criticism made of you, even though it is justified and from which you could profit?
☐ ☐ ☐ 168. Having settled an argument, do you continue to feel disgruntled for a while?
☐ ☐ ☐ 169. Would you stand by and fail to protect some animal from needless suffering?
☐ ☐ ☐ 170. Do you give a kiss, hug, pat on the back or otherwise manifest pleasure in meeting friends you haven't seen for some time, rather than just being polite?
☐ ☐ ☐ 171. Do you find it hard to get started on a task that needs to be done?
☐ ☐ ☐ 172. Is the idea of death, or even reminders of death, abhorrent to you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 173. Do you sometimes get so frightened or apprehensive that you have physical reactions?
☐ ☐ ☐ 174. Do you find yourself "going off in all directions at once"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 175. Could someone else consider that you were really active?
☐ ☐ ☐ 176. Is your opinion of your abilities less than the facts warrant?
☐ ☐ ☐ 177. Do your emotions sway your judgment much?
☐ ☐ ☐ 178. If you lose an article do you get the idea that "someone must have stolen or mislaid it"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 179. Are you opposed to the "probation system" for criminals?
☐ ☐ ☐ 180. Are you friendly in voice, attitude and expression?
☐ ☐ ☐ 181. Do you "stand up" well under difficult situations?
☐ ☐ ☐ 182. Do you feel upset about the fate of war victims and political refugees?
☐ ☐ ☐ 183. Do you spend much time on "needless worries"?
☐ ☐ ☐ 184. Does life seem rather vague and unreal to you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 185. Do you frequently find yourself "waiting" for something to happen instead of taking action?
☐ ☐ ☐ 186. If you thought someone was suspicious of you and your actions, would you tackle them on the subject, rather than leave them to work it out?
☐ ☐ ☐ 187. In a disagreement do you find it hard to understand how the other person fails to see your side and thus agree with you?
☐ ☐ ☐ 188. Do you spend very little if any time grumbling about the conditions of your work?
☐ ☐ ☐ 189. Are you usually truthful to others?
☐ ☐ ☐ 190. Do mere acquaintances appeal to you for aid or advice in their personal difficulties?
☐ ☐ ☐ 191. Do you spend too freely in relation to your income?
☐ ☐ ☐ 192. Do you sometimes feel that your age is against you (too young or too old)?
☐ ☐ ☐ 193. Can you take a "calculated risk" without too much worry?
☐ ☐ ☐ 194. Do you have spells of being sad and depressed rather than staying at the same level?
☐ ☐ ☐ 195. Do others push you around?
☐ ☐ ☐ 196. Do you tend to hide your feelings?
☐ ☐ ☐ 197. Do you make allowances for your friends where with others you might judge more severely?
☐ ☐ ☐ 198. Are you frequently dismayed by the actions of others not being able to understand their duplicity or stupidity?
☐ ☐ ☐ 199. If you were involved in a slight car accident would you really take the trouble to see that any damage you did was made good?
☐ ☐ ☐ 200. Do you consider you have many warm friends?

When you're done with questionnaire, please fold and place in stamped envelope and mail to:

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